NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment—Without Compromise. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

VOLUME IX.—NO. 14. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1848. WHOLE NUMBER 430

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY
At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—Two Dollars per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

Selections.

PROTECTION TO THE WEST INDIA "INTERESTS."

The West India planter and the Irish landlord are cousins-german. The idiosyncracies are identical, the sphere of their being and doing the same. Both seek to reap where they have not sown, and to gather where they have not planted. Regardless alike of the natural laws on which industrial success depends, and of the social duties and obligations which proprietorship involves, both, amid the "ruin" which is the result of their own reckless mismanagement, cling for support to the artificial aid of Government grants, in one shape or another. The case of the Antilles is exactly the case of Ireland, in so far as landlord distress is concerned.—There, too, we see a body of absentee proprietors, who would enjoy the rights of property without discharging its duties—committing the management of estates which they have never seen, to attorneys and agents, and themselves in luxurious indolence consuming the fruits of the soil which they have never by care or counsel helped to rear. The consequence is, that their estates are mortgaged to the teeth, and their returns diminishing year by year. "Unparalleled calamity," "unprecedented embarassment," is their normal condition. Yet these men cooly charge the "ruin," which was as rife in their ranks under the reign of Slavery and protection as now, on the legislative enactments which have emancipated the negro and given freedom to commerce. It is, however, a mere protest. Neither human or commercial liberty is responsible for the planter's distress. Its causes lie nearer home, and are directly traceable to himself. Only let the Brazilian and Cuban slave sugar growers follow in the same steps; let them abandon the residential occupation of their plantations, and take to absenteeism and European metropolitan recreations, and, our word for it, the superior cheapness of the cart-lash and blood-hound system of culture will not prevent them from very shortly being involved in distress as deep as that of the British West India planter who now mourns his woes in Belgravia.

At this moment the West Indians are all on the tip-toe of expectation. The success in Committee of the project of Sir Thomas Birch—that mongrel politician, the worst of all cross breeds, a professed political liberal and a secret commercial monopolist—encourages them to hope that they will shortly hear of something to their advantage in Parliament.—Vain delusion! Sir Thomas's scheme is of a character as mongrel as that of its author. It irritates and offends the Free-trader, without satisfying or conciliating the "philanthropist." A differential duty in favour of *colonial* sugars against *foreign* sugars, whether raised by slave-labour or by free-labour, holds purely of commercial monopoly and restriction. By no sophistry or logic can the "cause of humanity" be shown to have part or lot in the matter; while the "cause of the planter" is only promoted by a roundabout and gratuitously wasteful process. For the sake of a portion of the West India Islands in distress, it is proposed to extend the benefits of "protection" to the entire colonial dependencies of the British empire, whether they stand in need of such protection or not. In other words, the British tax-payer is to be mulcted in the sum of about three and a-half millions sterling annually for the allotment of the general spoil that will fall to the planters share. It has never been once alleged that the East Indians were unable to meet free competition in the markets of the world. They have had a new light on the subject, however, within the last day or two. Where the carrion is, there will the vultures be gathered. At the first scent of "protection," the East Indians also meet to vote themselves a "ruined interest"—a fact which never occurred to them till their neighbours in the West put it into their heads. The cause of this movement is susceptible of a very simple and satisfactory explanation. The plain fact is, that the East India Colonists, fearing that if the "distress" were admitted to be peculiar to the West Indians the remedy might be made special, think it advisable to put in for a share of the "calamity," in order that they may secure a share of the "protection."

We have every reason to believe that the Government will firmly withstand the proposition to restore the *régime* of protection. The thriftless and beggared "interest" have, however, too powerful and influential aristocratic friends and connections, to encourage the hope that the true policy will be pursued, of leaving them to their own resources. But most assuredly the form in which assistance may be granted to them will not be that suggested by the "liberal" member for Liverpool.—*Manchester Times.*

From the Rochester Daily Advertiser.

LETTER FROM JOSHUA LEAVITT.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LIBERTY PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow-Labourers in a glorious cause: Before this letter meets your eyes, you will have learned the result of the Convention held at Buffalo, on the 9th instant. In a meeting of our brethren held yesterday morning, in that city, it was voted that a Committee be appointed to give you an account of the matter, describe the steps by which we have been led along thus far, and express to you our unanimous conviction that the result is all right, and our high gratification with it, as the very best thing that could have been done for THE CAUSE which we all have so much at heart. It is not only as God would have it, but His hand and His love have been too conspicuously displayed in bringing it to pass, to admit of a doubt that he has done it in mercy, for the salvation of our beloved country.

The persons named for this service, were, Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, Martin Mitchell, of New York, Stephen S. Harding, of Indiana, Erastus Hussey, of Michigan, Lawrence Brainerd, of Vermont, William H. Burleigh, of Connecticut, I. Codding, of Wisconsin, Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, and myself. Most of these persons were seen, and not only desired that I should be their amanuensis, but consented that I should attach their signatures to whatever I should prepare, as we were to be at once too widely scattered to allow of any further conference, even by letter, without defeating our object by delay. Having thus shown that I do not thrust myself forward, unauthorized, in thus addressing you, I prefer, for greater freedom, to speak in the first person, so that they shall stand vouchers for the trust undertaken, and I alone may be responsible for the manner of its performance. And being unexpectedly detained, for a few hours, in the city of Rochester, I thought it best to lose no time in executing the duty. I felt, moreover, that it was not inappropriate to write, in a place where the ground was first broken for our organization, in September, 1839, and after refreshing my spirit by a visit to the grave of MYRON HOLLEY,

"THE FRIEND OF THE SLAVE,
AS WELL AS
ONE OF THE EARLIEST
OF THE
FOUNDERS OF THAT PARTY."

I left home for Buffalo, under anxious apprehension that the Liberty party, after a pure and honourable career thus far, might be brought to a dishonourable end. I feared that, under the pressure of a deep desire to stay the spread of Slavery, and amid the excitement of an immense assembly, our members would be hurried away to abandon our platform of principles, and basely desert our loved and admired standard-bearer, so as to weaken his hands, and discourage his heart, in the commanding position in which his merits and our confidence had placed him. We were all actuated by so intense a desire for union, that I was afraid we should lay our platform, too weak in its foundation, or too narrow in its compass, to hold up the ordnance with which we must batter down the citadel of Slavery. Just before the Convention, some of the papers friendly to Mr. Van Buren, declared that the Utica nomination could not be withdrawn, and that Mr. Van Buren must be a candidate, whether he should obtain the nomination at Buffalo or not. His letter to the Utica Convention was too unsatisfactory to us to be the basis of union, and the appearance of dictation was too disrespectful to be submitted to, without a sacrifice of self-respect. And yet I feared that the friends of Mr. Hale would be so much in haste to make sacrifices for the cause, that they would yield to all this, without duly considering what we owed to the honour of the Liberty party and its candidates.

As I travelled somewhat leisurely through the State of New York, I was agreeably impressed by the tone of candour and respect which the friends of Mr. Van Buren exhibited towards Mr. Hale and the Liberty party, and the utter absence of anything like attempts either to coax or coerce us to the support of their candidate. They seemed to appreciate the delicacy of our position, by its resemblance to their own, and to feel, that it would be better for us to continue our separate organizations, than that either should be given up with dishonour. Indeed, both their hopes and my own, of effecting a satisfactory union, were far from being as strong as our wishes were ardent.

My position, during all the proceedings of the Convention, was as favourable as could be desired for forming a correct judgment as to their character. I was a member of the informal or provisional committee, appointed by the delegates who were on the ground the day before the Convention. The necessary preliminary arrangements were all completed with admirable harmony and despatch, until we came to consider the mode of proceedure, by which the business before us was to be transacted, in such an immense assembly, with the requisite deliberation, and with due regard to the rights and wishes of all. Here we were, distracted with a variety of schemes.—almost as many as there were minds. The subject was at length referred to a select committee of one from each State represented; and this committee, after an ineffectual attempt to come to some conclusion, put it into the hands of a sub-committee, consisting of Hon. Mr. Bascom of Seneca Falls, Hon. Mr. Hamlin, of Columbus, both Whigs, Dr. Snodgrass, of Baltimore, and myself. Next morning, three projects were presented and considered and Mr. Bascom's plan was unanimously approved, reported, and adopted; and it carried us happily through, without the least jarring or confusion.

In the organization of the Convention, I became a member of the Committee on Resolutions, consisting of three from each State represented, on whom devolved the duty of framing a platform of principles to be the basis of our political union. This general committee, after consultation, referred the work to a sub-committee of seven, whose labours, as I was not among them, I would commend, with unqualified approval, did they not speak for themselves, in a manner wholly above my feeble praise. Before the meeting of the committee on Thursday morning, the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Massachusetts, met me, with a sad heart, and said, he did not know what to do, for he could not see how it was possible he should agree to support Mr. Van Buren, without a sacrifice which no man ought to make. But, after the committee had met, and received the report of the sub-committee, with the announcement that it was unanimous, Mr. Phillips took the first opportunity to speak, and, with deep emotion, declared, that if that platform could be accepted, with equal unanimity, by the committee, and if the Convention itself would adopt it as their basis, there was nothing else which the Convention might do, which he would not support cheerfully and cordially. All this was done with perfect ease, and to universal satisfaction and delight. The way was now prepared for the selected delegates from the several States to retire, and make the required nominations, to represent and carry out the objects of the platform.

At this stage, before the first or "informal" ballot, it became necessary, in the opinion of the Conferences, to hear from Mr. Van Buren, through his most intimate and faithful friend, Hon. Benjamin F. Butler. Mr. Butler's course, in the committees, had been such, as to win the respect and confidence of all, thus far, and he was listened to, with the deepest interest, in a detailed statement of the steps by which Mr. Van Buren had been brought to consent to the use of his name by the Utica Convention, when it seemed necessary to the support of his old political friends, in their separation from the party, as represented in the Baltimore Convention. This consent was given, when the movement was confined to his own State and his own party, and before any mortal could have foreseen such a movement as this. Mr. Butler also detailed, with great frankness, the rapid change which had taken place in his views, and the views and feelings of his friends on this whole subject of Slavery, and his cordial satisfaction in the platform, for which he gave much credit to Mr. Chase of Cincinnati, the chairman of the Conferees. Referring again to Mr. Van Buren, he said, it was impossible to say, whether he would assent to the platform, as he had not seen it, and could not, for it was adopted only three hours ago.—But if he should receive the nomination, his acceptance of it would include his cordial approval of the platform, and his consent to stand as *its* representative before the country. And he would say, from all he knew of Mr. Van Buren, he had not a doubt that he would *thus accept the nomination*, if the Convention should offer it to him, nor that he would give his most cordial support to the cause, if any other individual should receive the nomination. He then read a letter, which Mr. Van Buren had, of his own accord, addressed to the New York delegation, in which he evidently threw himself wholly into the cause, in a manner which at once conciliated the unhesitating confidence of us all, that he was with us, and his name was before the Convention, in a manner that was entirely satisfactory.

Mr. Hale had writen a letter, confiding the disposal of his name before the Convention, unreservedly, to the united judgment of Samuel Lewis, H. B. Stanton, G. C. Fogg, and myself, and we had unanimously agreed, that it would be our duty to place his name before the Convention, on precisely the same terms with Mr. Van Buren's. This was done by Mr. Stanton. Judge McLean's name was absolutely withdrawn by Mr. Chase, who, however, stated, that the Judge was wholly and earnestly with us. The roll was then called, each delegate voting, *viva voce*, as an experiment, preparatory to the regular or binding vote. The result gave Mr. Van Buren a plurality of about 40 above Mr. Hale, and a majority of 22 above all others. Many of Mr. Hale's friends had become so fully satisfied, that the interests of the common cause would be best promoted by giving the nomination to Mr. Van Buren, that they voted for him, even on the informal trial, thinking it might have an ill effect, if he should not have a handsome majority on his vote.

On the announcement of the result, which was received with considerate forbearance by the majority, the eyes of our friends were turned to me, and with a general willingness that I should have the honour of closing this business, by the voluntary surrender of Mr. Hale. And, with the advice of a few of those friends whose councils have never misled us, I mounted the platform, to perform one of the most solemn acts of my life. After giving a very brief sketch of the objects, principles, and history of the Liberty party, and of Mr. Hale, I said, that this union had fully embodied in its platform, both our essential principles and policy—independent organization in favour of Liberty and against Slavery, irrespective of our former party connections. We had fully redeemed our pledges of honour to Mr. Hale, who agreed with us, in doing "everything for the cause, and nothing for men." I knew I was acting in entire accordance with his wishes, in making a motion that the result of the informal ballot should be recorded, and that Mr. Van Buren should be unanimously nominated as our candidate for the Presidency. The delight and enthusiasm with which this was responded to, was full of hope for our cause. I shall never forget the scene.

A member of the Ohio delegation now proposed that Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Massachusetts, be our candidate for Vice President. A speech from Rev. Edward Smith, of Ohio, urging, that as the Liberty party had secured their principles, it was no more than fair to give others the men, and that, as we were a party for "principles, not men," we had got all we wanted, carried the conference as with a whirlwind. I confess I was one of the first to yield to its resistless power. And so our work was done.

I cannot describe, language cannot express the spirit of that Convention. I have met with no man who will say, that he has ever witnessed its equal. Christian men of the highest character, declared that they were never more impressed with the manifest presence of the Divine Spirit. All our Liberty party brethren, so far as I know, who were present, are fully assured that it is well done, and that, if the whole party could have been present, there would not have been a dissenting voice, nor a divided heart among us, in giving our enthusiastic support to our new ticket.

VAN BUREN AND ADAMS.

The Liberty party of 1840 is not dead. It has expanded into the great Union party, or Free Democracy of 1848. What have we lost? Not one of our principles—not one of our aims—not one of our men. Let John P. Hale stand as he stood, in the Senate of the United States; he is young enough to bide his time, and we could not spare him to be elected to the Presidency now. We have gained everything, lost nothing. Let us do our duty in these new relations, which the Providence of God, and the misconduct of men have brought us into.—In this union of freemen, for the defence of free soil, those who do the best service, will have the most effect in forming its character; and those will be the leaders who are foremost in the cause.—The power which has tranferred us, will sustain us. I am sure that if Myron Holley had lived to see this day, he would have rejoiced, as I do. By this movement, our cause is advanced, in a day, to a higher position, than we could have achieved by the labour of seven years, at our former rate of progress. The eyes of the whole nation are now turned upon us, and all the best hearts in the world wish us success. If we could only inspire the confident hope which truth would justify, we could not fail of immediate success. If all whose hearts are with us, would vote with us, and if all who desire our triumph, would give their best efforts to secure it, our ticket would prevail, by an overwhelming majority. Let no man, who values his accountability to God or man, bring upon his soul the guilt of a failure to *vote against both* Taylor and Cass, in these momentous issues.

I know there are scores of questions about this matter, which you would be glad to ask, and I should be equally glad to answer. But it will not do to protract this letter. I shall meet as many of you, face to face, as I shall have the ability to see, before the election, and will tell you much more than I can write.

I remain your devoted and humble servant, in the cause of "FREE SOIL, FREE LABOUR, FREE SPEECH, AND FREE MEN."

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

Rochester, N. Y., August 12, 1848.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, August 15th, 1848.

J. K. INGALLS, *Editor of the Landmark, New York:*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have your letter. I had learned, before receiving it, of the report in Buffalo, during the late Convention there, that I was in favour of Martin Van Buren, and would vote for him.

I hardly need say, that I am deeply interested in the present movement against the extension of Slavery; and that I infinitely prefer the election of the candidates, who are identified with it, to the election of the Whig and Democratic candidates. Gen. Taylor and Gen. Cass are pro-slavery candidates. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Adams are Anti Slavery candidates. The former are the shameless tools of the slave-power. The latter bravely resist it.

It is true, that, among all the persons, whom there was the least reason to believe the Buffalo Convention would nominate for President, Mr. Van Buren was my preference. He was my preference, because I believed he would obtain a much larger vote than any of the others; and, that his nomination would go much farther than that of any of the others toward breaking up the great political parties, which, along with the great ecclesiastical parties, are the chief shelters and props of Slavery.

But, it is not true, that I shall vote for Mr. Van Buren. I can vote for no man for President of the United States, who is not an Abolitionist; for no man, who votes for slaveholders, or for those, who do; for no man, whose understanding and heart would not prompt him to use the office, to the utmost, for the abolition of Slavery. And, let me here confess, that I am not of the number of those, who believe, that the Federal Government has no higher power over Slavery than to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and to abolish the inter State traffic in human beings. On the contrary, I claim, that this Government has power, under the Constitution, to abolish every part of American Slavery, whether without, or within, the States; and that it is superlatively guilty against God and man for refusing thus to use it. The still higher ground do I take, that no man is fit for President of the United States, who does not scout the idea of the possibility of property in man, and who does not insist, that Slavery is as utterly incapable of legalization, as is murder itself. Why is it not? Is it not as bad as murder? Is not, indeed, murder itself one of the elements in that matchless compound of enormous crimes? If not strictly that, it is, at least, a part of its necessary operation. The murder—the distinct, technical murder—of slaves occurs daily in this land. Why should it not, seeing, that it is unpunished? True, there are laws against it. But, laws for putting a man to death for doing what he will with those whom the laws themselves reduce to mere chattels—laws for destroying *a man*, because he has destroyed *things*—do, of course, remain unexecuted. Hence, there should be no surprise, that, from the day this Nation came into being until the present day, no white man has, in any one of the Southern States, been put to death, under the laws, for the murder of a slave.

Laws are for the *protection* of rights. That is no law, which, like the enactments for Slavery, is for the *destruction* of rights. And, yet, our Judges sit in Court, and wait patiently on the lawyers, who are engaged in hunting up authorities for Slavery—in hunting up authorities, not for the comparatively petty crime of sheep, or horse, stealing, but for the unsurpassed crime of man-stealing. Our enlightened posterity will wonder, that we should have called such a Court "a Court of *Justice*";—and they will wonder, that our Judges, instead of exercising such patience toward these lawyers, did not commit them to prison "for contempt of Court." But, our enlightened posterity will have no cause to wonder at our characteristically light respect for law. For why should it be expected, that a people should manifest a deep and devout regard for law, who are patient under the attempt, and even unite in the attempt, to clothe with the obligation and sacredness of law such an abomination, as Slavery?

Whilst on the topic of Slavery, I will add, that no man is fit for President, whose heart has not welcomed the doctrine of the human brotherhood, and the doctrine of the perfect equality of all men, in both their political and social rights. He, who would rob coloured persons of the right of suffrage, or make their complexion a bar to the equality of their rights with white persons, in the school, or the house of worship, or elsewhere, is not worthy to be a civil ruler. From such a one impartiality toward all, who come under his rule, is not to be expected.

Severe as these tests of fitness for civil office may be in the esteem of many, they are, nevertheless, not new. The Liberty Party acknowledged them, and contended for them, until the last year, when the great majority of its members adopted the policy of nominating for the Presidency a gentleman, who, great as is his worth, and rapid as is his progress in Anti-Slavery truth, had never given evidence of holding a single one of the distinguishing doctrines of the Liberty party. In adopting that unprincipled and ruinous policy, they, manifestly, abandoned these tests, and abandoned the Liberty party. And now, in taking up Mr. Van Buren, they are but repeating this abandonment; and are guilty of no new, and no greater, wrong. It is no greater violation of Liberty party principles to nominate Mr. Van Buren, than it was to nominate Mr. Hale:—and they, who swung their hats over Mr. Hale's nomination, are guilty of no inconsistency in swinging them over Mr. Van Buren's. Mr. Van Buren would be no quicker than Mr. Hale to resent the charge of representing the unpopular and reviled doctrines of the Liberty party. The reproach of these doctrines, and of membership in the Liberty party, the one would shun, as quickly as the other. But thanks to our Heavenly Keeper, the Liberty party is, not yet, deserted by all its members. A few of them remain to preserve its name, and uphold and honour its principles. Moreover, many of those, who, through their impatience for numbers and results, have forsaken it, will, ere long, return to it. Their delusion will soon spend itself: and their remembered backslidings will but serve to reattach them the more closely to the truths they had betrayed.

Should I close my letter here, I might leave you under the impression, that it is on the subject of Slavery only, that I require soundness in my candidate. It is true, that I do not expect perfection in him—nor even so much, as an entire agreement with my erring self. But, I must insist on having evidence, that he will, if elected aim, honestly and intelligently, to carry out, in all directions, the principle of the equal rights of all men. Such evidence, however, I cannot have, if the claims of the poor white man do not, as well as the claims of the poor black man, come within the scope of his regards. I cannot have it, if he be not opposed to monopolies, and especially, to that monopoly, which, with distinguished ability, you are labouring to overthrow. I can vote for no man for President, who is not sound on the subject of Land-Monopoly and who is not ready to devote himself, "arm and soul," to the abolition of this evil, which is so gigantic in itself, and which makes room for numerous and no less gigantic evils. It is not enough, that the candidate agree with the Land Reformers, in respect to one or more of their measures. Their *principles*, and, especially, that of "HOMES FOR ALL," must be in him; and it must be certainly known, that to the success of these principles he consecrates his influence whether private or official. Nothing can be more obvious to him, who will reflect upon it, than that the right of every person to the soil is perfect—as perfect as to the sea, the light, the air;—and that the denial of this right accounts for no small share of the world's misery. When, if not now, shall we take our stand, in behalf of this right? For, several years, the Land Reformers have been filling the country with arguments, which prove this right, conclusively and triumphantly. The Irish famine, which is to be traced, so distinctly, to Land Monopoly, was most opportune for illustrating and commending these arguments. Shall we wait, until these arguments and the horrors of that famine have faded from the public memory, ere we insist, that Civil Government shall protect every person in the assertion of his right—his natural absolute right—to his needed portion of the soil? We may then be enabled to re-arouse the public mind. Moreover, having failed to make just and Heaven-demanded applications of the truth, we may (—for such is a frequent consequence of unfaithfulness to the truth—) have no art left for re-inculcating it.

I, hardly, need say, that I am an Abolitionist. But, Abolitionist though I am, I regard Land Monopoly, take the world together, as a far more abundant source of suffering debasement, than is Slavery:—and, I add, that, whilst to abolish chattel-Slavery is not to abolish land-monopoly, to abolish land monopoly is to abolish chattel-Slavery.

I am well aware, that but few are left to govern their votes by such considerations, as govern my own. Of the seventy thousand, who belonged to the Liberty party, perhaps, not one thousand will insist, that their candidates be abolitionists: and of all the Land-Reformers, perhaps, not one thousand will insist, that their candidates be Land-Reformers. When I see such wise and good men, as compose the Faculty of Oberlin Institute, adapting their ethics to the emergency, and teaching, that the civil Ruler may, in most respects, be a man of negative, instead of positive merits—and that, even in such Anti-Slavery matters, as are, confessedly, "important," it will answer, if he only do not "stand committed against" the right—when I see such a sad surrender of principle, I expect nothing better than that but here and there one will be found able to keep himself from being carried off in the floods of defection.

Alas, that even the wise and the good should entertain such low and false views of Civil Government! But, it is not strange that they should. Ministers refuse to preach Bible politics; and if a layman presume to preach them, Ministers and their people conspire against him for his unpardonable offence. God's is a positive character. He is not indifferent, or undecided, in respect, either to the right, or the wrong. He is for the right, and against the wrong, always and everywhere. And so should be the Civil Ruler in the sphere of politics, where he is therepresentative "the minister of God."

But, I have detained you too long. If you have the curiosity to learn more of my views of the uses of Civil Government, and of the qualifications of the civil Ruler, you may learn it from a pamphlet just printed by S. W. Green of Utica. The pamphlet contains the proceedings of the National Liberty party Convention, held in Buffalo, last June.

In conclusion, let me say, that I, many years ago, became deeply convinced of the impropriety of determining the candidate's fitness for office, by interrogating him. If a man's life and character, before his nomination, do not afford the evidence of his fitness for office, I would not allow, that he supply the lack, when in nomination.

With great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

The *Salem* (Mass.) *Advertiser* publishes the following excellent letter from the Rev. A. P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H. to a friend in Salem:

MY DEAR SIR:—You ask me whether, in my view, "professing Christians can, consistently with their religious obligations, support for the Presidency the candidates of either of the two leading parties." For obvious reasons, I feel little disposition to discuss questions of this class, out of my own immediate sphere of influence and action. But your letter demands an answer, and shall have one.

I cannot pronounce sentence dogmatically for "professing Christians" in general, and should be sorry to believe that the multitudes among them, who probably will vote for Cass or Taylor, will therein be consciously false to their "religious obligations." But, for myself, I cannot conscientiously advocate the election of either of these men.

I regard the questions connected with Slavery as taking precedence of all others at the present time: They are moral questions,—questions of right and duty,—questions to which an unsophisticated New England conscience can give but one answer. The other matters at issue, however important, are matters of policy, on which there is room for an honest difference of opinion. Moreover, they are all involved in the grand moral issue. There is no mooted question of tariff, currency, or general policy, which must not needs be decided injuriously to the rights and interests of the free States, if the several branches of the central Government, and especially, if the national executive, be pledged to the extension of Slavery.—Now Cass, undoubtedly, owes his nomination to the many gratuitous expressions and acts of subserviency to the Slave Power which have marked his career as a statesman; and of Taylor's devotedness to the same interest, we have ample assurance in his Southern birth and education, in his position as an extensive slaveholder, in the enthusiasm with which his nomination is hailed in all pro-slavery quarters, and in the fact that he is the preferred candidate of Calhoun, the one idea of whose public life is the consolidation and extension of the institution of Slavery. That both these men are regarded by the managers of their respective parties as pro-slavery candidates, is manifest from the proceedings of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions, at both of which all expressions of opinion, even as to the open subject of Slavery-extension were suppressed and hooted down, and the whole game was manifestly thrown up by the Northern into the hands of the Southern members.

I have yet graver objections, if possible, to Taylor as a candidate for the Presidency. I am not surprised at his nomination. I have expected it ever since his first battle. He is the fitting candidate of a party, the members of which, individually believing the Mexican war needless, aggressive on our part and atrociously wrong, yet could cast its almost entire vote in Congress, not only for the men and money without which the war could not have been carried farther, but also for the acknowledged lie that the "war existed by the act of Mexico." Such a party needed a Janus-faced candidate, and they have found one in a man, who is said to have detested the war, yet sold himself body and soul to do its bloody work. But I will not vote for any man who thus openly acknowledges an authority above that of his own conscience, and who can be hired to carry into execution what he knows to be the most atrocious and cruel wrong. Did he approve of the war, I would more readily give him my vote, because I should then have no proof that he was otherwise than an honest and conscientious man, however mistaken in his sense of duty. It must be considered, too, that this war is all that has made him great. It seems generally admitted that he is no statesman, and that he must depend entirely on his Cabinet for advice and direction in his official duties. We are therefore in him choosing not an actual, but titular Chief Magistrate,—not a President, but a President maker. And can there be a more dangerous precedent for the future, than the elevation of a man otherwise unfit, to the highest office in the gift of a nation, solely on the source of his successful valour in a war denounced by the very party to which he owes his elevation? Are we not thus pointing out a more summary path to place and power than had previously been discovered, and which aspirants for political elevation hereafter will be eager to open for themselves? Should Taylor be elected to the Presidency, I shall look upon the event as first in the series of Providential retributions that are set down to our country for the unprovoked and wanton guilt of the war.

But, I am asked, is it not your duty, even if you approve of neither of those two candidates, to give your influence in behalf of the one of whom you least disapprove? In reply, I grant that it is not my duty always to insist on the best men and measures, and to withhold my vote from the better, when I cannot have the best.—But the case is different, when, in whichever way I vote I must recognize some false or vicious principle. This I conceive to be the case in the present crisis. Cass and Taylor are both the declared and the as-good-as-pledged representatives of the policy of Slavery extension and pro-slavery action; and if they represent aught else, it is the war spirit in its most truculent and revolting aspects.

Time and again, conscientious Christian men have been asked to give their votes for candidates whom they could not approve, on the ground that the only alternative was the election of such men or worse. Now the responsibility for the occurrence of the greater of two evils rests with those who offer to the public only a choice of evils. So long as conscientious men will vote without hesitation for the candidates of their respective parties, moral distinctions and moral principles will remain unrecognized in the nominations of those parties. But let any considerable number of men avow their dissent from their respective parties on moral grounds, their consciences will command and receive respect in future nominations. If Moloch and Belial be the two rival candidates, even though Moloch be the least foul spirit of the two, let good men stay from the polls, or cast scattering votes for Gabriel. The result may be that Moloch will lose his election, and Belial be chosen. If so, Moloch's party will profess to lay all the blame on the good men, who would not go for the party candidate. But after the game of setting up evil spirits has been tried two or three times, and has failed on account of the impracticability of the "conscience" party, their scruples will be recognized, and their moral tastes propitiated in the political arrangements of both or all parties.

I have thus written you a hasty, rambling letter, as bound in courtesy to reply to yours. I have no wish that this letter should go farther than your desk; on the other hand a very strong desire that it should remain there.—But I submit it to your disposal, feeling that, however unbecoming the attitude of a party politician is for one of our profession, these times of political profligacy impose a peculiar obligation on those who have any surviving reverence for principles that used to be sacred in New England, not to shrink from the free and full expression of their opinions and sentiments.

I am sincerely yours, A. P. PEABODY.

BUFFALO CONVENTION.

NEW YORK, Aug. 16, 1848.

HON. MARTIN VAN BUREN, LINDENWALD, N. Y.

Sir,—As a Committee of the National Free Soil Convention lately held at Buffalo for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, we have the honour to apprize you of your nomination by that Convention for the first of these offices, and to solicit your acceptance thereof.

The causes which led to the assembling of this Convention are known to you as matters of public history; but no one, not personally present, can form an adequate conception of its character, still less of the unanimity and enthusiasm which distinguished its proceedings.

All the free States, three of the slave States, and the District of Columbia were represented. In some cases the Delegates from a single State amounted to several thousands; the whole number in attendance was variously estimated at from twenty to forty thousand, or even more.

Individually, the members represented different, and in many cases, antagonistic interests and opinions. Many had for years belonged to the Democratic or Whig parties; a large portion was identified with the Third party, having already candidates for President and Vice President in nomination, while smaller bodies were the exponents of principles maintained by other organizations. In a word, the diversified and conflicting opinions on political subjects held by such of our people as have rejected the nominations of the late Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions, were, more or less numerously represented in this vast assemblage, by persons living, in many cases, thousands of miles apart, but now brought together by sympathy in one sentiment, and by union in one resolve—opposition to the further extension of Human Slavery, and the determination to preserve for the freemen of this and other lands, the free territories of the United States.

Notwithstanding the tendency to disorder inherent in a body so multitudinous and peculiar, its proceedings were marked by the utmost order, decorum, and solemnity. Its unanimity in the selection of candidates was equally remarkable. Upon an informal vote in the nominating committee, you received a majority of all the votes, whereupon you were nominated unanimously and by acclamation. The candidate for Vice President was selected in like manner, without the formality of a previous vote. Both nominations were confirmed by the Mass Convention, unanimously, and with the greatest enthusiasm.

The Convention also effected, what, but for its accomplishment, might justly have been deemed still more impracticable—the settlement of a platform of principles, including, besides the great question on which its members were agreed, kindred questions of much importance and difficulty, on which there existed serious diversity of sentiment, and embracing also every other subject of national interest, likely to come before the country during the next four years.

The duty of entering upon such a work was forced on us by the obvious reflection, that, in administering the Federal Government, these various questions must necessarily be met; and it seemed due to our fellow-citizens as well as necessary to our own action, that the sense of the Convention should, if possible, be collected and expressed thereon.

Contrary, almost as much to our hopes as to our fears, a platform of which a copy is herewith communicated, was proposed and reported, without a dissenting voice, by a committee fairly representing the whole body, and was afterwards, with like unanimity, and with the strongest tokens of approbation, ratified by the Mass Convention.

From the nature of some of the topics embraced in this paper, as well as from the composition of the Convention, it will readily occur to you, that the unanimity with which it was adopted, was due to the spirit of union and harmony which pervaded every bosom, and which induced all classes to avoid the assertion of extreme opinions, and to make to each other every allowable concession, necessary to a vigorous co-operation in the great purpose for which we had assembled. Persuaded that the document will be considered by you in the same spirit, we trust that, in like manner, it will secure your approval; and that it will, therefore, be agreeable to your personal feelings, and to your sense of public duty, to yield to the wishes of the Convention.

With yourself and your associate as their standard-bearers, the Free Democracy of the North and of the South, of the East and of the West, strong in the justice of their cause, and unterrified by opposing influences, will rush forward in the path of duty, assured that their candidates will receive such a support from the wise and the good, from the patriots and philanthropists of our country, as forever to protect the free soil of the Republic from the calamity and the curse of human bondage.

Asking a reply at your earliest convenience, we are, with high respect and esteem,

Your obedient servants,

B. F. BUTLER,
J. L. WHITE,
S. P. CHASE.

LINDENWALD, August 22d, 1848.

Gentlemen:—I have had the honour to receive your letter, giving me official information of the proceedings of the Buffalo Convention. The composition, character and proceedings of that body, as described by you, and the concessions of feeling, are to some extent, of opinions also, on the part of its members, which enabled them to unite their exertions upon a common, and to the country, a vitally important question, show it to have been governed by a pure and lofty patriotism, and demands from me a grateful acknolwedgement, for the expression of confidence you have communicated.

My position, in regard to the Presidental election, is a peculiar one; and it is due to me, that the knowledge of it, should be co-extensive with that, of every material step I take in the canvass. In 1844, I announced my determination, to continue in retirement for the rest of my life; and my earnest desire to do so has been undiminished and invariable, from that moment to the present. I declined, respectfully, but explicitly, numerous offers from friends in other States, to promote my nomination at the late Baltimore Convention; and in the same spirit, refused permission to the New York delegation, to present my name to that body, under any circumstances whatsoever.

This refusal would have been equally decisive, if it had been certain, that they would have had it in their power, to carry their friendly wishes into effect. The New York delegation to the Utica Convention requested my opinions, in regard to the obligations imposed upon them, by the Baltimore nominations, and the constitutionality and expediency of a prohibition, by Congress, of the introduction of Slavery into territorries now free from it. They also asked my consent to the use of my name, by the Convention, as its candidate for the Presidency.—I cheerfully gave them the opinion they desired, but declined the last request absolutely. That they sincerely desired to respect my wishes in this regard, I have never doubted. But the Convention were of opinion that the use of my name was necessary, as well to enable the Democracy of New York to carry forward, with a reasonable prospect of ultimate success, the great principle for which they contended, as to sustain themselves in the extraordinary position to which they had been driven, by the injustice of others; and that the relations which had so long existed between us, gave them a right so to use it, not only without my consent, but against my known wishes. Entertaining these views, they decided to nominate me, and omitted to give me the usual notice of their proceedings.

The reason why I did not feel myself at liberty to interpose any further obstacles to their wishes, have been given to the public, and need not be repeated.

It is in this form that my name, as a candidate for the Presidency, has been brought before the people. Occupying this position, I shall feel myself honoured by the support of an assemblage so enlightened and patriotic, and so devoted to the maintenance of the great principle we contend for, as that in whose behalf you have addressed me.

I have examined and considered the platform adopted by the Buffalo Convention, as defining the political creed of the "Free Democracy," with the attention due to the grave subjects which it embraces, and the interesting circumstances under which it is presented. It breathes the right spirit, and presents a political chart which, with the explanations I am about to make, I can, in good faith adopt and sustain.

In regard to the chief topic of the resolutions, it is not to be doubted, that the present unprecedented movement of the public mind in the non-slaveholding States, upon the subject of Slavery, is caused mainly by an earnest desire to uphold and enforce the policy in regard to it, established by the founders of the Republic. That policy, in addition to the prospective prohibition of the foreign slave trade, was:—

1st. Adequate, efficient, and certain security against the extension of Slavery into territories where it did not practically exist.

2d. That, in the language of your own condensed and excellent resolution, "Slavery, in the several states of this Union which recognize its existence, should depend upon state laws, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government;" and—

3d. A spirit of considerate forbearance towards the institution, in localities where it was placed under the control of Congress.

By a wise observance of this policy, we have until recently, been enabled to neutralize the injurious tendencies of an element of discord, more difficult to deal with than any to which our free institutions are exposed. But unhappily for the present harmony, and possibly for the future welfare of our beloved country, a pretension has been recently set up by our brethren of the slaveholding states, in regard to the first branch of this policy, so inadmissable upon principle, and so revolting to our feelings, as to produce a rush of public sentiment towards the point of resistance, which, with a population so considerate and so staid as ours, is never seen, except when a conviction exists that the honour and safety of the country are at stake, and then, always. A train of occurrences, all tending to the same general end, which have, for a few years past, followed each other in rapid succession, has raised this feeling to an elevation hitherto unknown, and produced resolves which it is not in the power of individuals to induce the people to recede from. The constitutionality, the justice, the humanity and the expediency of the ground they have taken, are all so clear as to preclude the possibility of a continued diversity of opinion or action in the non-slaveholding state.

The consequences that may result from this conflict of opinion between us and those who are, unhappily, our opponents—if their pretensions are persisted in—are known only to that omniscient and kind Providence which has hitherto protected our country and its institutions from the dangers which have threatened them.

The claim set up by our southern brethren, is a departure from the platform raised by our common ancestors, at a period when the chain of our Union was the brightest, and the fraternal feeling between the states that composed it, the strongest. It comes upon the back of a series of events well calculated to awaken, at the North, that deep, and, as it respects ourselves, overwhelming sensation in the public mind, to which I have referred. A brief review of them, at a moment so critical, cannot fail to be useful.

The future condition of the respective states, in regard to the probable continuance of abolition of Slavery, were correctly forseen at the formation of the government. Those of the old thirteen which are now exempt from it, acted under a confident anticipation that they would soon become so; whilst those of the number where Slavery still exists, could not look forward to an equally favoured result in regard to themselves. It was, therefore, well understood at the adoption of the Constitution, that although a large and highly respectable portion of the members of the confederacy would probably for a long, certainly for an indefinite period, remain slaveholding states, a majority of the states would be non-slaveholding and that a constitutional prepopderance in the federal government would be thus secured to the latter.

To make assurance of this result doubly sure, the slaveholding states themselves were prominently active in a measure—the ordinance of 1787—by which six new states were first designed to be, and five actually were, arrayed on the same side. These added to the seven in which slavery had been, or was expected to be abolished, would make the division in this regard twelve to six. The evidence we possess of the circumstances and dispositions of the times warrants us in assuming that no one at that day anticipated that this difference in the respective conditions of the states in regard to slavery would ever be overcome or neutralized, by the acession to the confederacy of new slaveholding states. Yet in the brief period which has elapsed—we may well say brief when viewed in connection with such great results—we have witnessed the addition of nine slaveholding, and only three non-slaveholding, states to the confederacy, beyond those which were provided for before the adoption of the Constitution, making them to stand fifteen to fifteen.

The preponderance originally secured to the non-slaveholding states, and with the knowledge of which they assisted in investing the institution of Slavery in the states with the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution, has thus been annihilated. These facts cannot be controverted or concealed, and when once fully understood and appreciated by the people of the non-slave-holding states, they must have a controlling influence over their future course. The emotions they have already excited ought not to surprise intelligent and ingenuous minds in any quarter.

But this is not the only, nor even the most repulsive view which we are compelled to take of the present pretensions of our brethren of the slaveholding states. Slavery is now presented in a livery which it never wore before. On every previous occasion when there has been a conflict of opinion in regard to it, the question has only been, how far the policy of 1787 should be carried out by prohibiting or restricting the extension of Slavery in territory which was, at the time, subject to its introduction. Most of the territory of the United States which was thus situated, save the State of Iowa, which was excepted by the Missouri Compromise, has been converted into slave states, and admitted into the Union as such. Now, for the first time, the attempt is made, to permit the introduction of Slavery into territories which are now free from it—territories from which it was expelled, within the last fifteen or twenty years, by the express and solemn act of their former government and people—a government and people with whom in respect to the attributes of freedom, ours could not brook a comparison.

Nor is this its only or its worst feature. In annexing to our Union Texas, an extensive Slave State, covering an area capable of being formed into many more such States, we have become involved in a war with Mexico, which claimed continued dominion over that State. The territories in regard to which the question is now made, are among the conquests of this war. It is therefore, in effect, whatever may have been the original objects of the war, an appeal to the inhabitants of the non slaveholding States, to sanction the extension, through our instrumentality, of Slavery into territories, which the United States have, in fact, acquired by the sword, but which others had relieved from that great evil. Such a proposition need only to be stated, to ensure its prompt rejection by the non slaveholding States.

Upon what grounds is it attempted to sustain a principle, so repugnant to our feelings, so destructive in our view to our national character, and so well calculated, if successful, to cloud the glory of this great Republic? That there should be diversities of opinion and feeling upon the subject of Slavery between us and our southern brethren, is certainly natural.

The strength of northern aversion to the institution, has been recently very truly stated on the floor of the Senate, by a very distinguished southern statesman. The people of the North could not overcome this aversion, if

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

they would; and they cannot desire to do so, because they religiously believe that the highest earthly interests of man are based on its permanency and ultimate universality. At the South the feeling is very different, because the culture of their minds and dispositions and the force of habit have had an opposite tendency. This known, and for a season, at least, incurable diversity of opinion and feeling should beget a spirit of conciliation, and inculcate mutual forbearance in speech and action. This duty has doubtless been occasionally lost sight of, on both sides; but it cannot be denied that the departure from it has been greatest on the part of our Southern brethren.

No one will venture to insist that it is, at this day, either expedient or right to originate Slavery in territories that are free from it, if it can be prevented. But it is insisted that this cannot be done in the case under consideration, and in the form proposed. First because the Constitution does not give Congress the power to prohibit Slavery in the territories, and that, consequently, the great number of acts for that purpose which have been passed for the last sixty years, with general assent, were but so many infractions of the Constitution.

All will remember the solemnity and rapidity with which State after State, at the South, in succession, announced this doctrine, and the acrimonious vehemence with which their conventions denounced political proscription, in the form of exclusion from the offices of President and Vice President, of all who refused to adopt it. But it is already apparent that differences of opinion upon this important subject cannot be settled by vehement assumptions, nor conciliation in regard to it promoted by denunciation. In our country such difficulties must be solved by appeals to the tests provided by the Constitution. For the rectitude of our motives, and the correctness of our conduct, we are responsible, on earth, to the opinion of the civilized world, and hereafter to a power that is greater and wiser than all.

The question of constitutionality, the gravest of all objections that can be made against a public measure, has just passed through the ordeal of public discussion, and the doctrine in question has been so thoroughly rejected and condemned by the voice of the nation, that it is no longer necessary to spend words in refuting it.

Two circumstances have, however, occurred, which though not necessary to its overthrow, give to that overthrow a sanction that entitles them to notice. It now appears that twenty-eight years since, at the time of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Monroe, then President, a slaveholder, and elected from a slaveholding State, submitted this very question, save only that it was then applied to slave territory, to a Cabinet composed, among other great men, of such giant intellects from the slaveholding States, as Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, the latter the law officer of the Government; that they were unanimously of opinion that Congress did possess the power in question; and that the then President, a man who was on the scene of action when the Constitution was formed, concurring in that opinion, approved the bill. The documents which attest these interesting circumstances are before the country, and every one will judge for himself of their claims to credence, considered in connection with what has been said upon the subject by the survivor of the Cabinet referred to.

To bring the matter nearer to our own times, within a few days, upon the very heel of the recent discussions upon this point, a bill containing this restriction—the very bill which has, in part, produced this discussion—has passed both branches of the National Legislature, and received the constitutional approval of the present Executive—an approval which it was his sworn duty to withhold, if he had not been satisfied that all the provisions of the bill were in conformity to the Constitution. The present President, also a slaveholder, elected from a slaveholding State, with a large portion of his Cabinet in the same situation, has given the highest sanction to the doctrine we contend for that is known to our institutions; and although he felt himself called upon to make an extra message, setting forth his reasons for believing that the restriction ought not to be applied to our Mexican territories, he does not take the slightest notice of the constitutional objection on which so many Southern States had based their opposition to the general measure.—This branch of the subject has been thus, and we hope forever, disposed of.

It is further contended that slaves are so far to be regarded as property as to authorise their owners to carry them into any of the territories, and to hold them there, notwithstanding any act which Congress may pass upon the subject. If Congress have the Constitutional power to prohibit Slavery in the territories, its laws place the subject on the same footing there, as the State laws do in the States. As well, therefore, might the slaveholder contend that he can bring his slaves into a State which prohibits Slavery, as that he can bring them in territories, where Slavery is prohibited by Congress. If his slave runs away, and enters one of the non slaveholding States, he does not thereby become free, but shall be delivered up upon the claim of the person entitled to his services. But this is not in consequence of the recognition of the right of property in such person, notwithstanding the State laws; but in virtue of an express article of the Constitution, which constitutes one of its compromises upon the subject of Slavery. This view of the matter was placed in a clear light in the recent debates, by one of the oldest and most distinguished membe s of the Senate, when he insisted that the claim on the part of the slaveholders, though nominally to remove their property, was, in reality, to transport their laws into the territories. One has, therefore, only to imagine a territory governed by the various and conflicting laws of thirty independent States, to appreciate the absurdity of the pretension.

But it is insisted that the prohibition carries with it a reproach to the slaveholding States, and that submission to it would degrade them. This is obviously the principal, if not the material, ground of opposition to the measure that is persisted in; and most assuredly, if it were well founded, we would have no just ground to take exception to the earnestness with which it is sustained. Let the objection, therefore, be fairly and dispassionately considered. Very erroneous opinions of the dispositions of the northern people are entertained by those, who think them capable of desiring the degradation of any of the States of the Confederacy, whether they be slaveholding or otherwise. They entertain too enlightened a sense of their own interests, they have too just a conception of the true glory of the confederacy, and of the extent to which the humiliation of a part would tarnish the lustre of the whole; and they are, above all, too national in their feelings, not to cherish a deep solicitude for the honour and welfare of all its members. If they could, therefore, believe that the success of this measure would draw after it such grave consequences, they would be among the last to uphold it. If it can have such a tendency, it will certainly not be owing to any want of generality in its application.

The restriction will, of course, be obligatory on all who settle in the territories, from whatever state or country they may have emigrated. They will all, in this respect, stand upon an equal footing. If any inhabitant of any one of the non-slaveholding states, who removes to the territories has his capital invested in business transactions which are not permitted by the laws of the territory, he must change the investment. If a slaveholder desires to remove there, he must dispose of his slaves, and employ free labour as his countrymen and neighbours did, when they removed to different portions of the northwestern territory, and in doing so made themselves prosperous, contented and happy.

Let us for a moment look at the character of this measure, and compare it with others that have gone before it. It is a re-enactment of the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited the introduction of Slavery into territories which had been ceded by several of the states to the United States. The difference between the effects of the two measures, consists only in the fact, that the territory to which the Ordinance of '87 was applied, was, previous to its cession, subject to the introduction of Slavery; whilst the territories to which it is now sought to be applied, had, at the time of the cession to us, been already exempted from it by law. Who first proclaimed the principle which triumphed in the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787? Thomas Jefferson. Who promoted and secured its passage through the Continental Congress? All the distinguished and patriotic men who that year represented the slaveholding states in that body, without a solitary exception. Who gave to the measure his official sanction, by approving a bill to carry it into effect, under the new government? George Washington. Within the last sixty years, and down to 1838, the same enactment has been again and again repeated, with the general concurrence of the Southern members, and often through their particular instrumentality. A full fifth of the states of the Union has been organized as territories under its restrictions. In respect to Ohio, the oldest of them, conformity to this principle in the Ordinance of '87, was required, even in the State constitution and government, and the bill giving to the Ordinance this application, was reported by a committee of which William B. Giles, of Virginia, was chairman, and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, a member. It was passed in the Senate by a vote of sixteen to five, and among the ayes will be found the respected names of Baldwin and Jackson, of Georgia, Breckenridge and Brown, of Kentucky, Franklin and Stone, of North Carolina, Thompson Mason, and Wilson, Cary Nicholas, of Virginia, Sumpter, of South Carolina, and Wright, of Maryland.—The states which have grown up under and in conformity to that Ordinance have, in a very great degree, been settled by emigrants from the slaveholding states.—Thousands of these hardy and enterprising pioneers, many of them among the most respectable of their fellow-citizen, for a series of years in succession left their friends and neighbours in the slaveholding states, for what was then the Far West, accompanied by their prayers and benedictions—it never entering into the imagination of either that in doing so they submitted to any personal or sectional reproach or degradation. Prosperous and happy in their new abode, they and their associates and the great enterprise they accomplished, have been honoured and admired by all who have witnessed their success. One of those very settlers, after assuming, and for many years discharging the reponsibility of enforcing the ordinance of 1787, and after enjoying a large share of his country's confidence and respect in other forms, was finally elevated to the Presidency, and died in that exalted station. Another highly distinguished inhabitant of one of the territories, subject to the same restriction, after having also for a long series of years borne the responsibility of seeing to the execution of this now derided ordinance, as Governor of the territory, is, at present, the favoured candidate for the same high office, of portions of the citizens of the slaveholding, as well as of the other states.

In the face of facts like these, is it possible that an application of this restriction to New Mexico and California can operate to the disparagement of our brethren of the slaveholding states? No impartial mind can, I think, regard it in this light; and if there be any other objections insisted on that are worthy of notice, I am not apprised of them. None that are tenable can, in my judgment, be offered. The measure is right in itself; and what is right may always be done with ultimate safety.—The present generation stand in the same relation towards these very extensive territories, in which the sages of 1787 stood towards the northwestern territory. If we act as wisely as they did, results not less glorious than those which reflect such undying honour on the policy of that day, will follow the labours and perpetuate the memories of those by whom it is now upheld.

The sixth resolution embraces the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and I observe in it a generality of expression, in respect to the time when, and the circumstances under which, it was the opinion of the Convention that it should be abolished, which has not been usual on the part of the friends of immediate action. Most reflecting and philanthropic minds live in the hope, that they will one day see Slavery abolished, not only in the District, but in the States also, in the latter through the agency of the state governments, to whom the Constitution wisely leaves exclusive power in the matter, and in the former by Congress. I may be mistaken, but I think I see in the guarded language of the resolution, evidence of an apprehension on the part of the Convention, that a difference in opinion, to some extent at least, existed among its members, upon the point referred to, and of an enlightened and truly patriotic resolve, not to suffer that circumstance, if it existed, to weaken the moral power of their unanimity on the great question which had brought them together.

My opinion, in favour of the power of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, has been repeatedly avowed, as well when a candidate, as whilst President; and every day's reflection has but served to confirm my conviction of its correctness. I at the same time express myself strongly against the expediency of exercising it; and in a recent letter to the New York delegation at Utica, I referred to my continued opposition to that measure. The subject was only incidentally introduced, and there was, consequently, but little care taken, in regard to the terms in which the suggestion was made.

The form of expression which I employed has, it appears, led many honest and intelligent men to assume that the remark related, exclusively to the past, and was not intended to convey my present views on the matter, This construction, though, perhaps, not unwarranted by the words employed, is, in fact, erroneous; and it is due to truth, to fair dealing, and to all who take an interest in the matter, that the subject should now be placed in its true light.

It is not to be denied that many of the reasons which in 1837, and before, operated to produce the convictions I then expressed, no longer exist; and if, when writing to the New York Delegation at Utica, I could have anticipated what has since occurred, I should have felt it my duty to discriminate between the reasons which had passed away, and those which yet remain. But when my letter to them was written, nothing could have been further from my expectations than that I should ever again be a candidate for the Presidency; and of course it was not my intention to say what my conduct would be on this or any other matter, if again an incumbent of that place.

I have spoken, in a former part of this letter, of the three leading features of the policy in regard to Slavery, adopted by the fathers of the Republic. History, if true, must record the fact, that the North has hitherto faithfully sustained her part in the maintenance of this policy, and in none more so than in that which inculcates forbearance on the point now referred to. I wish to see the forbearance which has so long characterized her conduct in this matter still farther continued. Approving of the Platform which the Convention has adopted, and conscious, from my impressions of right and duty in regard to it, that I shall be among the last to abandon it, I prefer not to connect our efforts to sustain it, with an issue which all must admit to be, in some degree at least, affected by different considerations.

In my judgment, all that is necessary to insure success, is dispassionate, but steady and firm action. Let the great principle we are now contending for, be once more reestablished in the councils of the nation, and the institution of Slavery in the District of Columbia will fall of itself. Other and more important interests will intervene, and induce the inhabitants themselves to labour for its removal.

I must not, however, be understood, either by what I now say, or by what was said in my letter to the New York Delegation at Utica, as repeating the declaration that I would, if elected, withhold my approval from a bill for the abolition of Slavery in the District. I could not now give any such assurance, for the reason, that the circumstances by which the question is now surrounded, are widely and materially different from what they were when the declaration was made; and because, upon a question of expediency, circumstances must control. At that time, the apprehension was honestly entertained, that there was danger of a servile war, in consequence of the extent to which the agitation of this question had been pressed.

Participating in this apprehension, and believing that such a declaration, in advance of any action of Congress, upon the subject, would have a salutary influence in allaying excitement, and warding off the danger which menaced the peace of the slaveholding States, I did not hesitate to make it. Whilst, on the one hand, all grounds for this apprehension have passed away, we are, on the other, threatened with a subversion of the spirit and character of the Government, through the successful encroachments of the slave power. If, under such circumstances, two branches of the National Legislature should decide that a due regard for the public interest requires the passage of such a law, I should not, if President, think it within the line of my duty to arrest its passage by the exercise of the veto power.

Among the difficult subjects that occupied the attention of my illustrious predecessor, whilst I was a member of his cabinet, and of myself whilst President, that of river and harbor improvements by the aid of the federal government, occupied a prominent position.

Whilst the conviction was very general, with ourselves and others, that a large class of them was deserving of aid from that quarter, and that it could be extended to them without exceeding the prescribed powers of the government, all were strongly impressed with a deep sense of the liabilities to abuse, to which the legislation of Congress upon the subject was unavoidably exposed. The matter was one of frequent and earnest conference between President Jackson and myself, during the first two years of his first, and the whole of his last term. The result was a conviction that no better course could be adopted than to approve such bills as we were satisfied came within the class referred to, and do all that could be rightfully done by the Executive, to prevent abuses by appropriations for objects that were not entitled to the aid of the Federal Government. The appropriations for river and harbor improvements contained in acts of Congress approved during our respective administrations, will show the results of that conviction; and I know of nothing that would prevent me from pursuing the same course if I should again occupy the office of President.

The subject is one of vast importance, and well deserving the attention bestowed upon it by the Chicago Convention of last year. I have not before me the letter addressed by my lamented friend, Governor Wright, to that body but I was strongly and favourably impressed by the views he expressed upon the general subject.

The views which I have for many years entertained in regard to the best disposition by Congress of the public lands, have been recently set forth, in my published letter to the "Industrial Congress." They were—

First, That Congress ought to act upon the principle, that the United States have a greater interest in the early settlement and substantial improvement of the public lands, than in the amount of revenue which may be derived from them.

Secondly, That the accumulation of large tracts, in few hands, should be discountenanced, and

Thirdly, That liberal facilities ought to be afforded, for the acquisition of small portions, by such of our citizens, wherever residing, as are in good faith, desirous of possessing them as homes for themselves and their families. These opinions were announced as far back as 1835, whilst a candidate for the Presidency. I set forth, also, in my letter to the Industrial Congress, the recommendations I had, whilst President, made to Congress, and the acts I had approved to promote the policy I had avowed. The general principles I have sustained upon the subject of the disposition of the public lands, are in harmony with the resolution of the convention, with this difference: that whilst the convention propose free grants of limited quantities, for actual settlement, the fartherest that I had gone, was to recommend grants of portions of them, at prices little, if anything, more than sufficient to defray the expenses of survey and location. The policy to which I have so long adhered, and for the success of which I have been sincerely solicitous, makes the early, and, as far as practicable, substantial settlement of the public lands, the principal, and the revenue derived from the sales of them, a secondary, and comparatively unimportant object

I regard the question revenue, as only important, because it affords a prospect of securing regularity, and a greater degree of stability in the settlements. If a plan can be devised by which these objects would, in all reasonable probability, be as well effected, as they can be by the exaction of a pecuniary consideration from the settlers, the relinquishment of that consideration would with me, be no objection to the measure. From a report of the Committee on Public Lands, which has lately been forwarded to me, it appears that the sales of the public lands have been pledged to the public creditors for one of the loans of the last year. If this is so, Congress will, without doubt, if any plan for the free gift of any portions of the public lands to actual settlers, should hereafter find favour in their eyes, see that the objection arising from this cause, be, in some proper way, obviated. Come what may, the good faith of the nation must always be scrupulously maintained.

My opinions in regard to protective duties and the best sources of revenue, were very fully given in my letter to the Indiana Convention in 1843 which was extensively published; and they are the same now. I, on that occasion, gave my reasons for regarding the system of taxation in force in the states, viz: a direct tax upon assessed property, as more equal and equitable than a system of duties on imports. I gave, also, my reasons for believing that duties on imports would for a long time continue to be used, as the mode by which the Federal Government would collect its revenues, in preference to a resort to direct taxation. Although the latter policy, is, I believe, steadily gaining in the public mind, its advance has not yet been sufficient to authorize us to expect its early adoption.

In the mean time, the government must have revenue for its support, and the very heavy debt which it has recently incurred, ought to be paid as soon practicable. Under these circumstances, I acquiesce in the resolve of the Convention, that the means for these purposes should be raised by a Revenue Tariff.

I have deemed it due to the Convention, and to the occasion, to depart thus much from the rule which I prescribed to myself in my letter to the Industrial Congress, in regard to farther expositions of my opinions upon public questions. Having done so, I shall for the rest of the canvass, adhere to that rule, and leave the whole matter in the hands of the people, with whose disposition of it all should be, and I certainly will be satisfied.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully your friend,
M. VAN BUREN.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, JOSEPH L. WHITE, and SALMON P. CHASE, Esqrs. } Committee of Buffalo Convention.

Acceptance of Mr. Adams.

NEW YORK, August 16, 1848.

Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Quincy, Mass.

SIR:—We have the honour to inform you, that after you left the chair of the National Free Soil Convention, lately held at Buffalo, and of which you were President, we were appointed a Committee to apprise you that you had been nominated, by the Convention, as its candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, and to solicit your acceptance of such nomination.

Your personal knowledge of the objects, character and proceedings of the Convention, supersedes the necessity of saying anything, in this place, upon either of these points; and we trust also, that a simple reference to the unexampled unanimity and enthusiasm with which its principles were proclaimed and its candidates selected, will be a sufficient argument to induce you to accept the nomination.

While each of the undersigned cordially unites in this sentiment, it is due to the State of Ohio, represented by one of them, that he should especially express it, since the selection of a candidate for the Vice Presidency was in the first instance, accorded to that State; thus making you, in a peculiar sense, her nominee on the ticket proposed by the Convention to the American people.

We are, Sir with high respect and esteem, your obedient st's.
B. F. BUTLER, J. L. WHITE,
and S. P. CHASE
Committee of the National Free Soil Convention, held at Buffalo New York.

To *Hon. B. F. Butler, J. L. White*, and *S. P. Chase*, Committee of the National Free Soil Convention, held at Buffalo, N. Y.

QUINCY, August 22, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: I have just received your official letter, apprising me of the great honour done me by the Convention which you represent, in nominating me as its candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, and also soliciting my acceptance of the nomination.

In reply, permit me to say that it had been my hope and my expectation to be able to act in the present canvass as one of the humblest, but not of the least earnest and devoted servants of the great cause in which we are engaged; but since it has pleased my fellow labourers, and especially the noble representatives of the great State of Ohio, to whom in your letter you particularly allude, to call upon me, most unexpectedly to myself, to stand in the front ranks of the contest; since it is their will, unequivocally expressed, that I should be their candidate for the second office in the Union, I am not the man to refuse to acknowledge the obligation, or to shrink by a moment's hesitation from the post not less of duty than of honour to which they assign me. I accept most cheerfully of the nomination.

The fathers of the Republic, nurtured in the great school of Liberty opened by the reformation, aimed to illustrate, by a practical example in America, the excellence of their cherished theory of government. To the general success of their experiment, commenced in 1776, and carried forward in 1789, a lapse of more than half a century has borne witness.

But unfortunately the same period has also developed the existence of an adverse influence incautiously admitted at the outset, which has thus far done much to qualify the beneficial results which have been attained from it.

That which at first seemed only a deflection from the path of justice in favour of vested rights and a privileged class, has, by degrees, shown itself to be so wide a divergency that the only choice now left to the people of the United States is either to turn back or else, by going farther forward, voluntarily to abandon the principles with which their fathers started. The alternative is clearly presented of the extension of Slavery over the whole breadth of the North American continent, or the maintenance of the fundamental doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. The two things cannot coexist in the United States. Regret it as we may, we can neither evade nor refuse the issue made up for us. Not to accept it is equivalent in my mind to deserting a great moral, social and political truth, at a moment when every known rule of human duty would seem to demand the complete establishment of it over the minds of a free people.

With these feelings I have read, again and again, the Platform of Principles laid down by the Buffalo Convention. I hail it as the signal of return to the path of the revolutionary patriots, as the era of advance in the theory of Free Democracy.

There are now but two living antagonist principles in the politics of the United States. The one which shelters itself under the cover of human force, and the other which draws its vitality from human reason and human sympathy. To all those who have confidence in the capacity of man for self-government, it must be a source of great satisfaction to believe that the period when the last of these principles will triumph in the United States is rapidly approaching.

At the same time it would be unjust to accompany such a victory with any feelings of acrimony or ill will toward the individual members of the losing side. The slaveholding section of the Union merits our sympathy even while the aggressive policy meets with the firmest resistance. For the time may yet come when those who now regard the declaration of the Buffalo Platform as a vindictive assault upon their dearest interest, will construe them rather to be the preservation of their highest moral and political rights. Ours is not a contest with geographically defined sections of country, nor with organized communities of men. It is a struggle to sustain principles of inestimable value in every land, of general application wherever society is established.

Success with us is the synonym only of that extension of the greatest blessings which good government can most certainly be expected to confer upon the human race. As such we hail its approach not so much for the good it may do to us as to all those who may now regard it as portending nothing but injury to themselves.

I am, gentlemen, with sentiments of the highest respect,
Your obedient servant,
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.—The main question upon which depends the forthcoming election of President of the U. S., is that of Slavery. Philanthrophy has caused agitation, and agitation, in its turn, is producing public sympathy on behalf of the enslaved sons and daughters of Africa. The time has arrived for America to strike off the shackles of the bondsman, and proclaim him a free man;—the time has come for America to wipe off the blot—of allowing Slavery—from her escutcheon, and the effort we are gratified to observe, is about to be made, even at the expense of dividing political parties. America boasts of her free institutions, of her equal laws, but what freedom is that which secures interest only to the natives, while those of another hue are held and treated as goods and chattles,—are taught that they cannot perform their own will,—and are made subject to laws which allow the severance of the dearest ties of nature? But America, allowing all this, by her laws, is a free country! No! It is a shameful perjury! a monstrous lie! The South must give up, and the North must not keep back, the boon sought:—a boon which should be granted by an enlightened people, and upon which depends many of the privileges of true born Americans themselves.

Shall Slavery be abolished? is now the question of American politics. That the foul blot be removed is not the shibboleth of any one party, but the demand of every philanthropist. The right of liberty is demanded in the name of justice—in the name of reason—in the name of consistency—and in the name of religion. Let us hope that the cry of the oppressed negro may not have risen from the ground in vain, but that it may have ascended to the throne of Justice, which is ever unchangeable, that the curse now bowing the oppressed to the dust, may be removed—that he who was manacled, and who suffered under the lash, may stand up in his native freedom, and proclaim to others his liberty, that he may enjoy the privileges and mercies bestowed by a Heavenly power—that he may feel no longer his flesh and mind are valued by dollars, but that his only [illegible] that which men make up their minds to betray their old friends that they are certain to overshoot the mark, and do more than their new ones would think of asking. Such traitors are generally abhorred, though their treachery may be accepted; and it may yet be the fate of Messrs. Leavitt and Stanton to learn that the betrayal of every party with which they have ever been connected cannot be forgotten however heartily it may be forgiven by the last one to which they may attach themselves.

These gentlemen have been followed at their proper distances, and according to their more humble capacities by the Burleighs, and the Baileys,—of Utica—and some other of the orators and editors of the smaller sort, who afortime have made the reputation of Eastern Liberty Party as the only true Anti-Slavery instrumentality. But we, by no means would include in the same condemnation such men as Chase of Ohio, and Sewall of Boston, who have from the beginning aimed and laboured for precisely such a consummation of Liberty party action as that at Buffalo. For that party they have never made any extravagant claims, have never clamoured for its permanency, have never asserted the doctrine of the unconstitutionality of Slavery, and denounced as little better than fools and madmen those who maintained the opposite doctrine. They have consented to use the Liberty party as a means for a certain end, without pretending that it was all the slave could hope for, or his friends could wish. They therefore, could readily and gracefully, and without any sacrifice of principle, of self-respect, or the respect of others, accept, and act with, a movement to create which they have all along been striving; and to such men we look with confidence so to mould the elements of the new party, and give it such a direction as shall hold it always in readiness for still farther progress when the time for such progress arrives. However much we differ from such men as to the true policy and the true principles of Anti-Slavery, we most readily yield them respect, and confide in their integrity, and contend that, standing upon their ground, they have acted the part of wise and of honest men in adding the weight of their influence, and in giving the benefit of their talents and knowledge to the Free Soil party.

Fanaticism in the Navy.

We have seen in the newspapers a letter from an officer in the Navy concerning Liberia which offers an occasion for a few comments. The author of the epistle is Captain Samuel Mercer, of whom we know nothing, except the fact, (which he mentions himself) of his being "a Southern man." He seems to be a good enough sort of fellow, and to have relished highly playing at international ceremonials with the new Republic. The Liberian flag was saluted with twenty-one guns, and President Roberts with seventeen—thirty-eight guns in all. We trust that America will always be thus nobly regardless of expense in exhibiting her devotion to the cause of republicanism all over the world.

As far as the thirty-eight guns are concerned we consider the conduct of Commodore Bolton as wholly unexceptionable. A salute conveys no pledges, nor can any disagreeable inferences be drawn from it. But the next day the Commodore went on shore, accompanied by Captain Mercer and several other officers, and dined with the President. We hope to see this affair thoroughly sifted in Congress, and an example made of the man who would thus abuse his high station to sap the foundations of our social fabric. Since the day when the Apostle Philip mounted the chariot of the Ethiopian prime-minister, we can hardly recollect an instance of more demoralizing amalgamation. Conceive of an American officer writing as follows:

If you take a family dinner with the President, (and his hospitable door is always open to strangers,) a blessing is asked upon the good things before you set to. Take a dinner at Colonel Heck's (who by the way keeps one of the very nicest tables) and "mine host," with his shiny black intelligent face, will ask a blessing on the tempting viands placed before you.

We shall expect to hear from Mr. Calhoun on this occasion, one of those profound, masterly, convincing (and whatever else) speeches which he is in the habit of making on the wrong side of every question that comes before him. With a subject like this his giant intellect would be fully tasked. Mr. Calhoun has favoured us with statesman-like views on the thrilling topic of brushing boots, let him now devote his mighty powers to impressing the mind of the country with a proper horror of dining with *niggers*.

We are not without our suspicions that Commodore Bolton has been belied in this matter. We cannot believe that the patriotism of any officer of our gallant navy, however long confined to salt-junk, would succumb to the temptation of President Roberts's fresh meat or Colonel Heck's nice table. Our confidence in Captain Mercer's veracity is somewhat shaken by the following statement. He says:

I took occasion one day to visit both Houses of Congress, and listened with attention and interest to their debates on the new revenue or tariff law. Everything was done in the most decorous and orderly manner, each member seeming to understand the subject of discussion fully.—The Senate consists of six members and the presiding officer, and the House of eight members and the Speaker.

Now it is a fact familiar to every American that the African race is not only totally unfit for emancipation at this present moment, but incapable of self-government at any time. Reason and revelation combine to enforce this great truth. It is universally acknowledged that a retributive Providence made a kind of sandwich of Ham and his descendants to be devoured by the more fortunate offspring of Shem and Japhet. If our national vessels are not furnished with Bibles it is time they were so. Our officers should understand that it is a tenet of the Christian religion that the African race is inherently incapacitated for taking care of itself. It was Ham's indecorum which furnished General Taylor and Mr. Calhoun with farm-servants. The only thing which has never been quite plain to us is this—that as the curse fell upon Mr. and not Mrs. Ham, and as in such cases *partus sequitur ventrem*, we do not see very clearly—but it is dangerous to follow these abstruse speculations too far.

Captain Mercer goes on to say—

It was indeed, to me, a novel and interesting sight, although a Southern man, to look upon these emancipated slaves legislating for themselves, and discussing freely, if not ably, the principles of human rights, on the very continent, and perhaps the very spot where some of their ancestors were sold into Slavery.

We are rejoiced that a person who expresses sentiments so subversive of American principles confesses himself to be a Southern man. We should have been sorry to see a descendant of the Pilgrims so forgetful of what is due to his ancestry. Plymouth rock continues true to the faith of the better days of the Republic.

Captain Mercer suggests some valuable hints in regard to the African slave-trade. He proposes to establish a line of republics along the whole Western Coast of Africa, and in that way to repress entirely this infamous traffic. *Now*, although the greater the number of republics the more Presidents there would be to give dinners to our Commodores, yet we think there are reasons of economy against such a scheme. Thirty-eight guns from each of our cruisers to each of the chief magistrates of these experimental States would amount to a heavy expense in the course of the year. We think it would be more advisable to extend the able and efficient jurisdiction of President Roberts along the whole line of coast. Then let the Congress of the Republic invest the President with plenary powers, and place the whole Liberian navy and army at his disposal, and the thing is done. There is no knowing how much moral influence might be exerted if a proclamation of the President forbidding the traffic should be pinned to every palm-tree along the coast. The powers of the printing-press cannot be exaggerated. The same force which has just hurled a powerful European monarch from his throne would surely be able to crush an insignificant knot of African slave-traders, especially when that force is backed by the refined moral sense of Ashantee and Dahomey. Let an abundant supply of tracts be furnished to the powerful Sovereigns of the West Coast, a perusal of which would serve the double purpose of instructing them in religion and in English.—There are, we believe, some fifty or more of these potentates who acknowledge the sway of the Republic, and pay

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1848

Change.

We publish on the first page of this week's paper three letters which, considering the former positions of the writers, their relation to the Anti-Slavery cause, and the characters they have hitherto borne, are three as remarkable documents as the history of the cause has ever grouped together. First in importance is that of Martin Van Buren, who in former times has done more perhaps than any other man high in office to arrest the progress of the movement for Emancipation, but who is now by a remarkable combination of circumstances placed at the head of the first important political attempt made at the North to check the rank growth, and curb the haughty and overbearing pride of that power of which he was once the willing instrument, but which threw him aside as a useless tool when no longer needed. And the movement of which he is now so important a part, and to be engaged in which is the crowning glory of his life, would never have had an existence, if his efforts, and those of his party, had been successful in crushing its germ a dozen years ago. Whatever may be the share which he may have in the important events which we shall no doubt witness within the next four years, and however great may be his influence on the future destiny of this republic, and however much it may redound to his honour, impartial history will not forget to record the striking contrast between Martin Van Buren when first a candidate for the Presidency, and the position of the same man when again nominated for the same office twelve years later. And though certain former acts of his life cannot be winked out of sight, neither should it be forgotten that in the meantime he fell a sacrifice to the slave-power for his open opposition to the Annexation of Texas.

The tone of the first part of Mr. Gerrit Smith's letter refreshes an old Abolitionist who is not so far carried away by enthusiasm for the new movement as to forget that after all, even if successful, it will leave the Abolition of Slavery in the States a thing to be contended for as much as when Garrison first unfurled the banner of Immediate Emancipation. Though we do not agree with Mr. Smith in his view of the Constitution, and therefore can only consider his position as an absurd one, and his efforts to establish a political party upon the ground of the unconstitutionality of Slavery as utterly futile, yet we cannot but respect the integrity which still maintains a position so hopeless, and the sincerity of which he gives so strong an evidence. But should he quite persuade us that the hope of the slave rests only in him and his party, we should indeed despair of the Republic when, on reading the closing passages of his letter, we learn that after all the Anti-Slavery cause is quite a secondary matter, and that the overthrow of that Monopoly of which he is so distinguished a representative, is the direct and royal road to the destruction of the Monopoly of labourers. If Mr. Smith thinks himself a worse man than the slaveholder his duty as a reformer is surely a plain one, and his field of labour is not only at his own door, but in his very land-office.

But the most remarkable letter of the three perhaps is that of Mr. Leavitt. Within two years he has stood side by side with Gerrit Smith, and pronounced a certain argument on the unconstitutionality of Slavery, a chain of such iron links that no honest attempt could ever be made to sever it. In his pathetic address to his fellow partizans he declares how readily he accepted, as a candidate for the Presidency, a man whom he was assured on the spot, had given no pledge to abide by a Platform, which, even if accepted, maintained the Compromises of the Constitution, and asserted the determination of the party to leave the institution of Slavery with the States where it exists! We can respect Martin Van Buren even when we remember his first Message, the Amistad Negroes, and his vote on the Post Office Bill, for a new and unlocked-for issue now has called him to a new position. He has grown to the necessity of the Time, and whatever change may have taken place in him, it is one of expediency and not of principle, or if one of principle, a change from bad to good. So far as regards the Institution of Slavery in the States he is where he ever was, and would adopt a different policy in relation to the District because he thinks circumstances warrant him in doing so. We regard with respect also the consistency of Gerrit Smith, wrong-headed as we believe it to be, and only wonder that with his abhorrence for Slavery he can believe any other monopoly as in any degree commensurate with its atrocity. But above our respect and regard for either is our admiration of the intrepidity of Joshua Leavitt, who boldly faces all shame for inconsistency, and repudiates his last year's principles as readily as he would the dates of his last year's Almanack. For eight years he has maintained that the Liberty party was the slave's salvation. Over the grave of Myron Holley he, thoughtfully and contentedly reflects upon the "transfer" he has just made of it to a party which avowedly has no intention of untwisting a single strand from a single slave-whip—except in a small District of ten miles square—this side the Rio Grande. He has maintained the right and the duty of Congress to abolish Slavery everywhere. He tells his partisans with his pen, and means to report to them over and over again, and face to face, how readily he took the oath of allegiance to the party whose first principle on the subject of Slavery in the States is, that they have nothing to do with it. History—the history of the Anti-Slavery cause—which will not forget Joshua Leavitt, will remember him chiefly to record the transactions of '40, and of '48; the first an attempted betrayal of the Cause into the hands of its enemies, the second a successful removal of himself out of the way of the Cause, though by treachery to his friends.

We have so long been acquainted with the Anti-Slavery character of both Messrs. Leavitt and Stanton, that we are not so much surprised as amused at their ready alacrity to leave their own leaky vessel, which has only been kept from sinking by the most desperate pumping, for the staunch and well-manned ship that was launched at Buffalo. We remember something of a trick practised by the latter gentleman at the London Convention in '40, on the question of the admission of the female delegates, by virtue of which he made claim to some consideration from the liberal party in England, while, at the same time, he enabled his friend, Mr. Birney, to deny indignantly the imputation that he—Stanton—had absolutely upheld such a heresy as the admission of women to a World's Convention. If all stories—including the first few copies of Mr. Dyer's report—be true, he resorted to something of the same sort at Buffalo. He was so far the trusted friend of Mr. Hale as to be the bearer of his letter—which like the "streak letter" he left in his bed-chamber, or a rail-carriage, or anywhere but in his own pocket—authorizing the withdrawal of Mr. Hale's name in the selection of candidates, in a certain contingency. That contingency he took good care to secure so far as it lay in his power, for though he nominated Mr. Hale in Committee, to keep on the fair weather side of his friends, he voted against him at the outset, and gave his first ballot to Mr. Van Buren, to secure, doubtless, some credit with what he shrewdly foresaw would be the dominant party. Mr. Leavitt's haste, it seems, was somewhat more decent; for he only proposed that Mr. Van Buren be nominated unanimously after he had received a majority of the votes; but we are mistaken in the intelligence of some of his "friends and fellow-labourers," if they do not rather marvel at his faith in the faith of Mr. Butler that the candidate, before whom he hastened to bow, would do a part—and that a comparatively small part—of that great work which Liberty party has vaunted itself these eight years it would do, and it alone could do, if it should ever be so fortunate as to have a chance. It is a well known fact that when men make up their minds to betray their

Division among Friends.

We received not long since, from our friend Thomas McClintock, a pamphlet containing a brief narration of the events which have led to the recent division in the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. The cause of the division in fact was the "laying down" of a Monthly Meeting in Michigan which for the last year or two has infringed—so it was contended by the dominant party—upon the discipline of the Society, in neglecting to hold the stated meetings for Ministers and Elders. The proceedings of the Genesee Yearly Meeting in relation to the Michigan Friends were conducted, according to the report before us, without due regard to the rights of the minority, and in spite of the protest of many weighty members who asked that the case should receive more thorough consideration, and be conducted more in accordance with the customs and principles of Friends. But though the alternative was distinctly stated to be a division of the Yearly Meeting, it was chosen by the dominant party rather than the adoption of the more liberal and pacific course advocated by the minority. An esteemed correspondent at Rochester has sent us the subjoined letter from a Friend in Michigan which will be read with interest by a large portion of our readers among Friends. It will be observed that the letter touches only upon the question of the appointment of Elders, and that without reference to the division in the Genesee Meeting. It sets forth, however, the motives which governed the Friends of Michigan in their course in regard to meetings for Elders, the action upon which led to the division. It is, we believe, an open secret that beneath the apparent cause of this division lie others which have exercised a strong influence upon the members on both sides. The question of Slavery, and the position of that Yearly Meeting in regard to all movements of reform have long been disturbing elements among its members, and undoubtedly had much to do with the recent division. The want of sympathy and unanimity in the meeting on all those subjects probably hastened the division, which no one of them, perhaps, would have alone produced.

DEAR FRIEND:—Thou observed in thy letter that it is a day of great treading down, and endeavouring to destroy our beautiful order, some in one way, and some in another, especially in the growing opposition to select meetings, thereby tending to sap the foundation; that from long observation thou had become convinced that there is nothing more calculated to separate and divide than an unsound ministry; that if there ever was a time in the early day of Friends, for faithful elders to set with and advise ministers, that was eminently necessary in the present day. On the last mentioned subject, I suppose we sincerely differ in sentiment, therefore cannot respond to all those views. That it is a day in which many are

practices grow up and prevail in society, or Governments, founded on Republican principles, sooner or later to undermine such Societies or Governments; as two opposite principles cannot long harmoniously exist in one body. But to return to the subject, has the state of society been better since the appointment of Elders and setting up of select meeting than before? or has the contrary of this been too lamentably evident? Nor can we expect better results from principles and practices standing in direct opposition to the precepts of the blessed Messiah, and to the principles of His Divine government, which in all the visible features thereof so plainly and emphatically sets forth the supremacy of God, and equality of man; nor can the theologist of whatever Society, find within the house of his armory an instrument or a grant so carefully devised, and bring to bear in such a manner upon the unfettered mind (alive to the doctrines of human rights) a conviction or persuasion that an institution constructed and sustained on and by the very attributes of an oppressive aristocracy can be built up in the midst of Republican and Gospel institutions; which always have been, and always will be, so far as they are sustained, the legitimate result of the grand principles of religious liberty, and rights of conscience; which principles being unchanging, can never be so constituted as to secure exclusive religious rights to one portion of the same family to the exclusion of the other. And, my friend, it must and will be seen, (however hoodwinked we may be kept for a time) that those two partial and exclusive things cannot be of Him whose Kingdom is not of this world, and whose precepts were and are all in accordance with "one is your master even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Were we all so humble as to live to these heavenly precepts in deed and in truth, all desire for preferment one above another would come to an end, and no place would be found within the precincts of the Zion of God for those exclusive select meetings.

Van Buren's Letter.

Martin Van Buren's letter, accepting the nomination of the Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, will be a heavy blow to the Whig party. Its editors have been comforting themselves for the last three weeks with the reflection that he, some dozen years ago, was almost as bad in intention, as their own candidate is now, in fact. That Van Buren once promised to veto a bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District, was an offset to Taylor's two or three hundred slaves, the Cuban bloodhounds, the Generalship in the Mexican War, and every other evil thing known—of good there is nothing pretended—of the Whig candidate. This small crumb of comfort is dashed from the lips of the poor Whigs, who now have only the sorry consolation of the rascality of the Old Hunkers. Mr. Van Buren's letter will do much, however, to reconcile many of the members of the late Liberty party to their "transfer" to the new party at the Buffalo Convention by those gentlemen who invented and practised this new instrumentality in politics eight years ago, about the time of the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Van Buren, in accepting the nomination, has adopted the principles of the platform of the new party. He avows distinctly his readiness to sign a bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the District; and this avowal should be satisfactory to his partisans, notwithstanding the somewhat lame explanation of his former position on this subject; for that reason, if valid twelve years ago, is of far greater force at this day; but let that pass. If he is right now, it does not so much matter why he was wrong then. Mr. Van Buren, fairly and unequivocally, places himself at the head of the party which is pledged to act as far as it can Constitutionally against the system of Slavery.

That precisely the present relation of political parties would sooner or later exist, has long been the settled conviction of many who were early engaged in the Anti-Slavery cause. Such a result is the necessary consequence of the Anti-Slavery agitation, and in its earlier days, before the futility of the efforts, however honest, of a merely political party was clearly seen, was one of the objects of that agitation. The old "Scatteration" policy aimed at this very state of things, and had it been persisted in by those who still maintained the duty of voting instead of the creation of a separate political organization under the name of Liberty party, it might have been much earlier realized. Or if that were not possible, only because Slavery did not present points enough open to attack on merely political grounds, when the time did arrive for such attack by the creation of a new issue, like this of Slavery-extension, the movement would have been met with even more enthusiasm, and have commanded more respect and confidence as one entirely new and untried, and the growth of the necessity of the moment. Nor would it, in that case, have absorbed as it now certainly will, all the Anti-Slavery zeal of a large class who heretofore honestly and sincerely working in the Liberty party, have been led to believe that that *ignis fatuus* was the real light of Abolition; and who, finding in this new party all that that party could ever give them, must lose sight of the great end for which, in the beginning, they were labouring.

For that, however, we are to blame not the new party, but that which preceded it, and which is now fortunately absorbed by it. In this movement, as we said a week or two ago, we have strong faith, and hope from it good results, though not those which it promises. It will fairly test the question whether the North can even maintain its own rights,—the loss of which it is just discovering,—under the Constitution, against the slave-power. That being settled, as we believe it will be in the negative, the cause—the existence of Slavery by Constitutional right—will not long remain hidden. Then, and not till then, will the North assert her own rights, and the Rights of Man, and a new party spring into existence, armed and ready, with the watchword—A Northern Republic, or the Abolition of Slavery.

MR. CALHOUN ON ABOLITION.—Beside the meeting referred to in another column which nominated General Taylor and Mr. Butler as the Southern candidates, another has been held at which Mr. Calhoun delivered himself on the present aspect of political affairs. His speech is in a most despairing tone, and he thinks that the time for decisive action at the South has nearly arrived. He says:

With such a struggle at hand, how important is it that the South should be prepared to meet it with a united front. Diversities of opinion are entertained upon the subject of the Presidency. General Taylor preferred by some; General Cass by others. All are equally sincere, and all, in his opinion, were equally Republicans. He did not ask that they should throw away their vote or arrest the canvass. Things had gone too far for that. But he implored them, as Carolinians, to conduct the canvass with moderation, and with kindly feelings toward each other. Do not permit the discussion so to divide or estrange you from each other as that you cannot be reconciled immediately after its termination. The time is coming when your united energies will be demanded for the struggle. At the next session of Congress the contest will be renewed for California, New Mexico and the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—for the North claims all that. If worsted in that struggle, as there is great probability we will be, we have nothing to hope or expect from the Federal Government. He had watched this question of Abolition for years, and from the beginning had predicted the result. There are in the body politic, as in the human system, diseases which, if not promptly arrested, become incurable and eventually fatal; and it was his opinion from the first that Abolition, if strong and decided measures were not taken to check it, would run its course, and in its progress destroy the Union and the institutions of the country.

THE PRECURSOR is the title of a new paper just started, in this city, by William West, the first number of which is published without a single subscriber, but which is nevertheless to be published every other week—so says the editor—so long as he has strength to set the type and work the press, food enough to keep soul and body together, and money to pay the paper makers. An investment of such capital, backed by a good will will be likely to insure the editor a hearing. The paper is devoted to the defence of Religious and Political Freedom, and the Freedom of Industry by the advocacy of Land Limitation, the Inalienable Homestead, and the Direct Popular Vote. Mr. West is a vigorous writer, is in earnest in his undertaking, and ought to receive the support of the party whose cause he advocates.

FREE SOIL CONVENTION IN LOUISIANA.—A Free Soil Convention has been held in Lafayette, Louisiana, at which the *Picayune* says strong speeches were made by several gentlemen, and a good deal of excitement created. The meeting finally broke up in disorder, and the Mayor of Lafayette issued a proclamation against any such seditious proceedings calculated to render "certain classes of our population dissatisfied." A call however, for another meeting on the 19th, was issued, so that it would seem that the Free Soil men are by no means frightened by the fulminations of his Honour the Mayor. This is certainly "breaking out in a new place," and we shall look for the upshot of such a movement with a great deal of interest.

A Taylor Platform.

The Whigs are bound to have a Platform in spite of themselves. The perverse politicians of the South Carolina school have no notion of permitting their northern allies to act without well-defined and distinct principles. A meeting has been held in Charleston which nominated Gen. Taylor for the Presidency, and placed the name of Senator Butler upon the same ticket as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency. This nomination Gen. Taylor has accepted unequivocally, and if he be the honest strait-forward man the Whigs profess to believe him—and in this connection we are not disposed to doubt it—in accepting the nomination he adopts also the principles laid down in the Resolutions and Address of the meeting. These we have not yet been able to get in full, but that portion we have seen announces in the strongest language the distinctive principles of the South, and of South Carolina especially on the subject of Slavery and Slavery extension. They express the utmost confidence in the unexceptionable Southern character of Gen. Taylor, and of which the Gen. shows himself entirely deserving. The following is the Correspondence between Gen. Taylor and the President of the Charleston Meeting:

Mr. Pringle to General Taylor.

CHARLESTON, July 26, 1848.

SIR: In conformity with the desire of my fellow-citizens, I have the honour herewith to transmit to you a newspaper containing an account of a very large meeting of the Democratic citizens of Charleston, S. C. held for the purpose of selecting you as their candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Over this meeting the agreeable duty of presiding was assigned to me. The Preamble and Resolutions adopted at it so fully explain the views of my fellow-citizens as to need no comment from me. Permit me however, on my part to add, that with a confidence in that honesty and independence of purpose, which you have exhibited in every position in which it has been your lot to serve your country, I entertain the fullest conviction, that, should it be our good fortune to see you elected to that high station, you will so administer the laws of our country, that each section of it will be protected in the rights which it was intended by the framers of the Constitution should be guaranteed to all, by that noble instrument, which can only prove inadequate when it is perverted by designing or misguided politicians.

I am, Sir, with high consideration and respect, your obedient servant, WM. BULL PRINGLE.

To Gen. Z. TAYLOR.

Gen. Taylor's Reply

BATON ROUGE, La. Aug. 9, 1848.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 26th ultimo, officially announcing to me my nomination for the Presidency by a large meeting of the Democratic citizens of Charleston, S. C. at that city on the 26th ult. and over which you were the presiding officer.

This deliberate expression of the friendly feeling existing toward me among a large and respectable portion of the citizens of your distinguished State, has been received by me with emotions of profound gratitude; and though it be but a poor return for such a high and unmerited honour, I beg them to accept my heartfelt thanks.

Concluding that this nomination, like all others which I have had the honour of receiving from assemblages of my fellow-citizens in various parts of the Union, has been generously offered me, without pledges or conditions, it is thankfully accepted; and I beg you to assure my friends, in whose behalf you are acting, that should it be my lot to fill the office for which I have been nominated, it shall be my unceasing effort, in the discharge of its responsible duties, to give satisfaction to my countrymen.

With the assurances of my high esteem,

I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

To W. B. PRINGLE, Esq. Z. TAYLOR.

This new political move is likely to make some stir among the Whigs of the North. There will unquestionably be more bolting, and thousands will no longer be puzzled with the question which Mr. Webster asked two or three years ago of the Whigs of Mass:—"where shall I go?" Their only refuge is in the Free Soil Party. A large and enthusiastic meeting of discontented Whigs has already been held in Albany, at which the most indignant speeches were made at the unceremonious disposal of Mr. Fillmore, and the ready acquiescence of Gen. Taylor in that arrangement. We expect to hear of many such meetings all over the Free States and the Taylor leaders will find it difficult to hold enough of their forces together to make a decent show of fight in November. We hope to lay the whole proceedings of the Charleston Meeting before our readers next week.

Drayton, Sayres, and English.

The trial of these men is concluded. English, who was the cook of the "Pearl," and knew nothing of the intention of his superiors to carry away the sixty blacks as passengers, is acquitted. Fortunately the $10 for every indictment made out against him by the United States District Attorney is not to be paid by him, but by the sovereign people. For this much of common justice let us be thankful.

Sayres is convicted upon all the indictments against him for transporting, the fines for which amount to $14,800, and imprisonment till paid. He was acquitted on the indictments for larceny, for want of evidence; that which convicted Drayton being retracted, as we stated last week. His case is to be carried up to a higher court. The case of Drayton is also to be carried up, and there is a strong hope that the decision against him in the lower court may be reversed, as the testimony on which he was convicted, as we have stated, is withdrawn.

The Committee who have these cases in charge are making an appeal for funds, and we copy, by request, the Treasurer's Report, and the appeal appended to it.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer of the Committee appointed to solicit funds, employ counsel, and take other measures for the defence of three persons tried at Washington, D. C., for assisting the escape of seventy-seven slaves from that place, in the schooner Pearl. Published by order of said Committee.

William F. Channing, Boston.	$10 00
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge,	5 00
Francis Jackson, Boston,	20 00
Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., Cambridge,	5 00
Rev. Theodore Parker, Boston,	3 00
Moses Grant, "	5 00
Samuel May, "	20 00
Robert Waterston, "	5 00
J. G. King, "	2 00
Benjamin Loring, "	3 00
John A. Andrew, "	3 00
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, N. Y.	500 00
A Friend, Boston,	5 00
Abraham Firth, Clapville,	11 00
A Friend, Plymouth, Mass.	5 00
John P. Andrews, Salem, Mass.,	5 00
William Burnham, Essex,	3 00
Thomas Haskell, Gloucester,	3 00
William Barry, (subscriptions,) Lowell,	39 00
J. W. Mifflin, Huntington, Pa.,	10 00
H. N. Stone, Boston,	1 00
Dr. M. P. Hanson, "	1 00
Charles List, "	1 00
Joseph Sewall, "	3 00
S. S. Littlehale, "	10 00
A Friend, "	10 00
Collection at Oakham,	6 50
Warren Lincoln, Raynham,	1 00
Aaron Foster, Danvers,	1 00
Warren Low, (collection,) Essex,	5 00
Abner Pulaski,	1 00
H. I. Bowditch, (collection) Hingham,	10 67
J. B. Estlin, Bristol, England,	5 00
Benjamin Platt, N. Vassalboro', Mass.,	1 00
Henry Greenwood, "	1 00
In note without signature, Boston,	15 00
James Deane, Burlington,	5 00
Willis Fisher, [collection,] Franklin, Mass.,	5 00
Geo. W. Greene, " Milton,	10 00
Geo. T. Davis, Greenfield,	10 00
C. H. Leland, [collection,] Upton,	32 33
James L. Gage, Ohio,	3 00
C. M. S. Churchill, Milton, Mass.	3 00
Samuel Wells, Peterboro, N. Y.,	5 00
E. A. Fish, Gilbertsville, N. Y.,	6 00
George Parsons, Warren, O.,	5 00
Jacob Perkins, "	10 00
Joseph Perkins, "	5 00
Milton Sutliff, "	5 00
Hoffman & Hutchings, "	5 00
Leicester King, "	30 00
	$866 [illegible]
Of which there has been paid for the fees and expenses of the trials,	697 50
Leaving a balance in the Treasury, of	$168 66.

Only part of the retaining fee of the counsel employed at Washington has been paid, and there will be yet much heavier expenses to conduct the trials to their desired issue. It is deemed cruel to abandon the prisoners to their fate, now that there is a strong prospect of the judgments against them being reversed; or to lose the opportunity now offered, of bringing the great question of the constitutionality of Slavery in the District of Columbia to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States for want of means to prosecute these trials. The Committee have therefore voted, that the additional sum of $1500 shall be immediately solicited from the benevolent public; and it is ardently hoped that all lovers of freedom, who feel the goodness and magnitude of the object, will transmit such contributions as they can respectively spare, to the undersigned in its aid. By order of the Committee.

J. P. BLANCHARD, Treasurer.

Boston, August, 1848.

☞ JAMES WEBB, of Enniscorthy (Ireland,) and R. D. WEBB, of Dublin, will accept our thanks for valuable papers by the late steamers.

We have received the first No. of a new paper published at Lowell, Mass. under the title of the *Massachusetts Era.* It carries the Free Soil ticket at the head of its columns.

To Correspondents.

W. P. We are seeking for the information he wants and will send it as soon as it is procured.

J. R. L. Will find a package at 21 Cornhill.

O. J. Shall hear from us shortly.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Miscellany:* Stonites and Grainites; or which way shall we go to Mill? The Indians in the Zoological Gardens; Women in the Celestial Empire; John Bull's "Nationaux Ateliers;" Van Colear's Horn; The Artist; A Cotemporary of Burns. Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

FIRST PAGE.—*Selections:* Protection of the West India "Interests;" Letter from Joshua Leavitt; Letter from Gerrit Smith; Letter from Rev. A. P. Peabody Martin Van Buren's Letter; &c. &c.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS.

THE PLOUGH, THE LOOM, AND THE ANVIL: J. S. SKINNER & SON, EDITORS. *Philadelphia: Geo. B. Zieber & Co.*

The *Farmers' Library*, which we have often noticed as the best, and indeed the only work of its kind ever published in this country, was discontinued with its June number, and in its place we have the first two numbers of a new work with the above title. The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil, promises to be of a not less valuable, though of a somewhat different character from its predecessor. Unlike that, it is not to be devoted exclusively to those topics which are of professional interest to the farmer, but in the wider field which it embraces of the mechanic arts, its purpose is to advocate the conjoint and inseparable interests of the Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil. The central idea of Mr. Skinner's theory is, that agriculture can never flourish till the consumer and the producer are brought into juxtaposition. In a country where produce has to seek a distant market, the expense of carriage so eats up the profits, that the farmer is necessarily a poor man, and can afford to labour only upon the poor lands which will yield the readiest returns from the smallest outlay. Thus the richest lands of this country are unredeemed, while the agriculturists are continually pressing Westward from the Middle and Southern States, to seek new, and labour again upon comparatively poor soil to be exhausted by the same cheap and unthrifty cultivation. A different state of things obtains, to some degree, in New England, where the consumer and the producer are side by side, and until this is the case everywhere, Mr. Skinner thinks, the condition of agriculture must necessarily be a low one. His remedy for the evil is, Protection to Home Manufactures, which will, he contends, benefit the man at the Plough, no less than the worker at the Loom and the Anvil. To maintain this policy is the object of the new publication, but at the same time it will aim to give to the farmer practical instruction in his profession; and accordingly we find in the two numbers before us a fund of valuable information for those engaged in tilling the soil. Altogether the plan of the work is so comprehensive that it ought, and we trust will, receive the support of a large class, and even of those who may not agree with the editor in his peculiar views of political economy. Mr. Skinner has, for thirty years, devoted himself to agriculture as a science, and probably no man in this country is so well qualified as himself to conduct a work of this character. It is published at the low rate of $3 for one copy, $5 for two copies, or $10 for five copies.

Agents in New York, Burgess, Stringer, & Co., Long & Brother, and Berford & Co.; and in Boston, Hotchkiss & Co., and Redding & Co.; in Cincinnati, Wm. H. West; and in Pittsburgh, M. P. Morse.

HOLDEN'S DOLLAR MAGAZINE. *Charles W. Holden, 109 Nassau st.*

The September number of this cheap publication is illustrated with several fine wood-cuts of views in England, and with several excellent portraits of celebrated men, or those who are to be so. Among the latter is one of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, with a sketch of his life, and some pithy extracts from his writings. The number is chiefly original, and its book notices and "Table-Talk" are as just and piquant as usual.

THE ARCHITECT. *Wm. H. Graham, Tribune Buildings.*

The third number of this valuable and elegant work is fully equal to those which have preceded it. It contains a plate of a fine mansion, including different views and full plans and specifications of costs, and also plates equally minute of two small and cheap, but exceedingly tasteful cottages. The remarks of the editor upon names of houses and residences are replete with the sound sense and good taste which characterize all that we have seen from his pen on the subject of architecture.

Foreign Intelligence.

SEVEN DAYS LATER

FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Britannia.

The Britannia arrived at Boston on Saturday last after a passage of 14 days. She brings the important intelligence of the arrest of O'Brien in Ireland, and the entire suppression of the Irish rebellion. We copy the detailed account of the arrest of its leader.

From the Dublin Evening Mail, Aug. 10.

The following details received from an eye-witness of the whole transaction, from the capture at Thurles to the delivery of the prisoner into the custody of the Governor of Kilmainham, may be implicitly relied upon:

"THURLES, Saturday Night.—Mr. S. O'Brien was arrested here at 8½ o'clock this evening, under the following circumstances: He was seen by a policeman named Hulme, in the employ of the Great Southern and Western Railroad Company, passing through the market-place, being dressed at the time in a brown overcoat, buttoned up to the throat, and a pair of thick grey trousers, the ends of which were turned up. He stopped Hulme, and asked him the way to the railway station, which he pointed out to him. Hulme sent a soldier for reinforcements, and without waiting their arrival, followed at once for the purpose of making the arrest. Mr. Smith O'Brien, on entering the railway station, asked for a second-class ticket to Limerick, which was immediately given him. In paying for his fare the clerk observed a great tremor in his hand, and an excitement in his manner calculated to rouse suspicion. The money which was given him was sixpence more than sufficient, but so great was Mr. O'Brien's agitation that he neglected to take it up, and was recalled by the clerk for that purpose. On his return he asked which was the right platform, and being told he crossed the railway and proceeded to a space of ground adjoining, to prevent observation. There he was at once taken into custody by Hulme who, having called on him in the Queen's name to surrender himself, seized him by the right arm. He was immediately assisted by head-constable Hanniver, D. who carried the warrant for his arrest. Mr. O'Brien's back was turned when Hulme seized him, and said, "You are Mr. O'Brien, and you are a prisoner." Mr. Hanniver then seized Mr. O'Brien by the arm and said, "I have a warrant for your arrest," at the same time presenting a pistol, and adding, "If you stirr I'll shoot you." Hulme and Hanniver were removing Mr. O'Brien when five of the constabulary, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, arrived, and assisted in conveying Mr. O'Brien toward the Bridewell. On the road they met the military under the command of Gen. MacDonald, and the police under the command of Sub-inspector Bracken. The prisoner, thus escorted, was forthwith transmitted to the Bridewell, where he remained about two hours.

"The intelligence of his apprehension spread like wildfire through the town. Groups of people collected in the street, and it was evident that a moment's delay would have produced such a ferment as would not be allayed without serious consequences. Thanks, however, to the discretion of Government in employing so energetic and experienced an officer as Gen. MacDonald, any chance of an attempt at a rescue was avoided by the dispatch and completeness of his arrangements. The streets and the railway station were at once cleared of the populace by strong patrols of police and cavalry. The old veteran himself went from door to door insisting that they should be closed, and that the inmates should retire. So complete was the success attendant on these decisive measures, that Mr. O'Brien was brought to the railway through the deserted streets, and without a shadow of opposition. A strong body of infantry guarded the entrance to the railway, and the prisoner was conducted there on a car, whereon Gen. MacDonald, Capt. Fitzmaurice, R. M. and Mr. Gore Jones, R. M. were also seated. He was surrounded on every side by the armed constabulary and the troops of the line. On entering the carriage Mr. O'Brien was placed in the center seat, and in the same compartment with him were Lieut. Alexander MacDonald, with Sub-Inspector Bracken, Head Constable Hanniver, and four constables. Mr. O'Brien was told by Lieut. MacDonald that he must not move or speak, at the peril of his life.

"Mr. O'Brien, before starting, inquired of the Gen. whether it was by his directions that he was ordered not to speak; the Gen. replied that it was, and added—'I wish, Mr. O'Brien to treat you with all the respect due to your station in society, and to your misfortunes; but I have a duty to perform, and my orders must be obeyed.'

"Mr. O'Brien replied, 'I have played the game and lost. Had I won, my power would have been unlimited, and I am ready to pay the penalty of having failed. I hope,' he added, 'those who accompanied me may be dealt with in clemency. I care not what happens to myself.'

"He said that as he was enjoined to keep silent, he would try to sleep; but he did not succeed in the attempt, and though his manner was composed throughout the journey, he moved about restlessly in his seat."

From the [Dublin] Freeman's Journal, August 12.

Shortly after Mr. O'Brien was lodged in the bridewell, and while the train was being got in readiness, Major General M'Donald accompanied by Captain Fitzmaurice, R.M., arrived there, and a conversation took place, in the course of which Mr. O'Brien in reply to a question as to what he wanted or desired in the proceeding he had taken, said—"I wanted to be a citizen of a free country, and I desired that my fellow-countrymen should be happy and prosperous, instead of living under such a tyranny as you are now administering."

General M'Donald—and what would you have been?

Mr. O'Brien (jocosely)—Had I succeeded I would have been a General like you!

General M'Donald—A General like me! I never was a rebel—I was always a true man; I fought for my King and country—a General like me, indeed!

Some one of the officials present then asked—"Did you not want to be the King of Munster?"—to which Mr. O'Brien replied, "No, it is a gross lie, I did not, I had no such desire or idea, and nothing has caused me more pain and annoyance than the wretched falsehood to that effect which was printed in a Cork newspaper. It was a pure invention, and nothing of the kind ever fell from me. I entered upon my course with my eyes open to all the consequences, but those whom I expected to sustain me for the sake of the country did not do so. I know I shall be hanged; be it so. I am ready, and I have only to say, I have done my part for Ireland."

Some farther conversation took place, in the course of which the General observed, "I had once the honour of dining in your company at your brother's house—if it was an honour." Seeing that his manner and language had hurt the feelings of his captive, the General rather moderated his tone, and said, "I don't wish to annoy you, but I must do my duty;" and having placed Mr. O'Brien in the custody of his son and Capt. Fitzmaurice, to be conveyed to Dublin, he retired. He then proceeded to the railway station, and not finding the train quite ready, he walked up to the station clerk, Mr. Arthur O'Leary, and cocking his pistol, he put the muzzle of it close to his ear and ordered him in the most peremptory manner to get a special train in the three-hundredth part of a minute—a rather difficult operation. Mr. O'Leary told him it would require some time to get steam up and place the engine on the proper line, and that he would give orders to the person in charge to do what was requisite, for which purpose he left the office, but the General, not thinking the movement rapid enough, followed him, and presented his drawn sabre at Mr. Bagnell and Mr. Harden, commanded them to "look sharp" about what he ordered. In the town he ordered all persons to keep within doors on pain of being shot, and even threatened Mr. Cahill, the Crown Solicitor of Tipperary, with a like fate if he did not retire from where he then was, standing at the gate of his own residence. To one of the officials at the railway station who did not appear quite as "smart" as he desired, he pointed significantly at the lamp post, using language sufficiently clear to leave no doubt as to his meaning.

At ten o'clock, all being in readiness, Mr. O'Brien was removed on a car from the bridewell to the station. The General sat on the same side with him, Messrs. Gore Jones, and Fitzmaurice on the other. There was a good number of people collected along the way, but no attempt was made to rescue the prisoner. The women cried bitterly, and several times cursed the people for their cowardice. One of them exclaimed. "Oh, good God, will any one help me before we let him go." Mr. O'Brien, who seemed unmoved before then, said, "And has it come to this? Is there not even a word of sympathy from those who see me going a State prisoner? I wanted to go to Limerick to see my family if I could. They will hang me, and transport three or four others, and Ireland will become quiet again; but I have done my duty, and the people have not done theirs. I was told they would come to me from Waterford, Kilkenny, Thurles, Cashel, Clonmel, and all the country about; but that has not been the case, I have been deserted. Let things now take their course." On arriving at their station Mr. O'Brien was placed in a first-class carriage, with Sub-Inspector Bracken, Captain Fitzmaurice, the General's aide de-camp, and two police constables, and having been ordered not to speak or move on pain of instant death, the train proceeded to Dublin at a rapid speed.

The following is a list of persons now under arrest for treason:

Mr. William Smith O'Brien, M. P. for the county of Limerick.
Mr. Charles Gaven Duffy, editor of the *Nation*.
Mr. John Martin, proprietor of the *Felon*.
Mr. Joseph Brennan, sub editor of the *Felon*.
Mr. Lawless, Secretary of the Sandymount Club, Dublin.
Mr. Francis Hanley, North Earl street Dublin.
Mr. —— Nelan, supposed to be an American sympathiser, arrested at Thurles.
Dr. Ryan, Surgeon, Carrick on-Suir.
Mr. O'Ryan, Cashel.
Mr. Thomas Witty, farmer or land-owner, Wexford county.
Mr. Francis Strange, Solicitor, Waterford, President of the Felon Club there.
Mr. —— Supple, glover, Waterford.
Mr. Patrick McAuliffe, clothier, Waterford.
Mr. Fogarty, Assistant Surgeon, Waterford.
Mr. Thomas William Condon, white-smith, Secretary to the Wolf Tone Club, Waterford.
Mr. Taafe, barrister, Dublin.
Twenty-one countrymen from the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, in the county of Tipperary, charged with having assisted Smith O'Brien in the attack on the police.
Mr. William Marren, editor of the *Drogheda Argus*.
Mr. J. S. Barry, editor of the *Cork Southern Reporter*.
Mr. Ralph Varian, Cork.
Mr. Isaac Varian, Cork.
Ten draper's assistants, from Messrs. Pims' establishment, Dublin.
Mr. S. J. Meany, of the *Irish Felon*.
Dr. West, Surgeon, Dublin.
Dr. M'Carren, of America.
Mr. Bergen, ship broker, of New York.
Mr. Butler, editor of the *Galway Vindicator*.
Mr. —— Costigan, of Castlebar.
Mr. Denny Lane, Merchant, Cork.

PARTIES AGAINST WHOM WARRANTS ARE ISSUED.

Mr. Francis Morgan, Solicitor of the Corporation of Dublin.
Mr. Thomas Francis Meagher, gentleman, Dublin.
Mr. Michael Doheny, Barrister, Tipperary.
Mr. Richard O'Gorman, Jr, Barrister.

The trial of several of these persons was commenced but was not concluded when the Steamer sailed. The *Dublin Freeman* of the 9th, contains the following important communication from a correspondent at Thurles in which the editors of the *Freeman* declare they have perfect faith:

THURLES, Tuesday—7 o'clock, P.M.

"I have just learned through a source on which I can *implicitly* rely, that a communication has been made to the Irish Government, through the mediation of an influential Catholic clergyman, from the parties who, next after William Smith O'Brien, were considered the most important against whom warrants have been issued. The communication, I understand, is to the effect that these gentlemen undertake to surrender themselves to the Government upon receiving the assurance that none of the proceedings instituted against any of the State prisoners shall extend to the taking of life. It appears that this communication was induced on the parties hearing of the arrest of Smith O'Brien on Saturday evening."

The *Dublin Mail* says that warrants are issued for the arrest of several American sympathizers now in Ireland. "These vagabonds" says the mail, "are generally ex-Mexican volunteers, and are either of Irish birth or parentage."

Richard O'Gorman, is reported to have made his escape in a boat, and to have been taken on board a vessel in the Shannon, bound from Limerick to this country. A war steamer was dispatched in pursuit of her.

FRANCE.—A warm debate ensued in the Assembly on a demand of Ledru-Rollin that a day be fixed for the debate on the report of the Committee on Insurrection. The debate is delayed till the printing of the documents, about half of which are already in type. Ledru-Rollin it is said was to have been proclaimed dictator had the affairs of the 15th April succeeded.

An attempt has been made to assassinate M. Thiers by shooting him in the street. A child was wounded by the shot fired.

Prussia and Austria have both resolved, it is said, to recognize the Republic.

Nearly 1,000 of the prisoners have been discharged; 1,100 more are ordered to be transported, and 100 are to be tried by a superior Court Marshall.

Secret societies are again increasing on every hand.

ITALY.—Charles Albert, after successive battles had gradually retreated to Milan. An attempt of the English Minister at Turin to procure an armistice from the Austrians was unavailing, and a battle is reported to have been fought under the walls of Milan and that Charles Albert had capitulated. The accounts however are confused and conflicting. One report is that the capitulation had been refused by the Austrians, and it is certain that they had not taken possession of the city; but the people suspecting that it had not been proposed mobbed Charles Albert in his palace, and took him prisoner. The latest account is that Milan was in a state of defence.

Preparations were immediately made at Florence and Leghorn for war on the receipt of the news of the battle on the Minicio.

SICILY.—An English squadron has anchored off Naples, and it is surmised that England intends to interfere with the Kings projects, and take upon herself the protectorate of Sicily.

AUSTRIA.—The Emperor has signified his intention of not returning to Vienna at present. The Hungarian Diet has sent a deputation to wait upon the Emperor at Innspruck, and to anounce its intention of crowning the Archduke Francis Joseph in case the Emperor would not return.

EGYPT.—Mehemet Ali has been declared by the Sultan incapable of reigning in consequence of insanity—and Ibrahim Pacha recognized as his successor.

GERMANY.—The liberty of the press is declared inviolable to the Diet, and capital punishment, branding and bodily punishment abolished.

The Diet, at its sitting on the 31st ultimo, took up the subject of the German flag. The war flag is to consist of three horizontal stripes—black uppermost, with the imperial eagle thereon, red in the middle, and gold undermost. The commercial flag [to be hoisted by all German vessels] is of the same colours, without the eagle. The eagle to have two heads. In the course of the debate on this law Mr. Ross of Hamburg (of English extraction, I believe,) showed the importance of speedily substituting one single flag for the numerous coloured ones which the traders now hoisted. He added; "Few people are aware, and our German countrymen least of all, that the German trade has at its disposition the third largest fleet in the world." The sixth paragraph of the fundamental rights, as it passed at this sitting, is as follows;

"All Germans are equal before the law. There are no priviledged classes. All titles, excepting official ones, are abolished, and cannot again be introduced Public offices are open equally to all who are properly qualified for them. The right of carrying arms, and the duty of serving in the armies of the country, are equal to all. The system of proxies in the service is forever abolished

In the progress of the deliberations on the German Fundamental bill of Rights, the question whether all privileges arising from noble birth should cease was answered in the affirmative almost unanimously; the second, whether the title of nobility should cease, was negatived 282 against 167.

DIED.

In New Haven, Conn., on 21st instant, E. PORTER BELDEN, Esq., of New York city, to Miss ELIZA A. HALLOCK, daughter of Gerard Hallock, Esq., joint editor and proprietor of the New York Journal of Commerce.

MARRIED.

In West Roxbury, Massachusetts, 18th instant, Miss LUCY CABOT, 63; daughter of the late John Cabot, Esq., of Boston.

In Albert street, Regents Park, (London) Benjamin, youngest son of the late Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy.

At his seat, Langham, Norfolk, England, Captain MARRYAT C. B., the celebrated nautical novelist, aged 56.

NOTICES.

MEETINGS IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

Adin Ballou and E. D. Hudson will attend the Anti-Slavery Pic Nic at West Winfield on the 6th and 7th of Sept. and after hold meetings as follows:

LITCHFIELD, *Friday, Sept. 8th at 1 and 6 o'clock P. M.*
Trenton, Saturday 9th at 6 P. M.
" Sunday, 10th at 10 A. M. and at 1 and 6 P. M.
Norway, Herk. co. on Monday 11th at 1 and 6 P. M.
Fairfield Tuesday 12th 10 A. M. and 1 and 6 P. M.
Little Falls Wednesday 13th.
Newville Thursday, 14th at 10 A. M. and 1 and 6 P. M.
NEWVILLE, *Sept. 12th at 2 and 6 o'clock P. M.*

The friends in each of these localities are expected to engage places of meeting and give the necessary notices to secure the attendance of the people.

ANTI-SLAVERY PIC-PIC AT WEST-WINFIELD, ON SEPTEMBER 6th, 1848.

The friends of the slave will hold a Pic-Nic at the time above mentioned, where a variety of useful and ornamental articles will be exhibited for sale. The Pic-Nic will commence at 10 A. M. and continue through the day. The friends of the Anti-Slavery enterprise in the region of Central New York, are respectfully invited to attend. Three millions of our brothers and sisters in chains and Slavery, the slave-power triumphant in the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war, will soon make farther aggressions unless the slumbering North is awakened. Come all that have a wish to do something for the oppressed bondman, let us not falter, come to the rescue.

The following well-known advocates of human rights are expected to be in attendance and address the people, ADIN BALLOU and Dr. E. D. HUDSON, of Massachusetts.

There will also be an Anti-Slavery meeting on the 7th of September, to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

MARANDA A. E. GREEN,	DOLLY THOMAS,
SARAH GUILD,	LAURA ELDRED,
HANNAH BUCKLIN,	PHEBE BACKUS,
EMELINE MURDOCK,	JULIA ANN EATON,
HENRIETTA BISBY,	LAURA TURNER,
EVELINE RIDER,	SOPHLORA THOMAS,
SUSAN BROWN,	LAURA COLBURN,

AMANDA HARDING.

West Winfield, August 3d, 1848.

STATED MEETING OF THE CLARKSON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in New Garden Lyceum House, Chester county Pennsylvania, on Saturday, August 26th, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

COATES PRESTON, *Rec. Sec.*

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR OF 1848

Demands of all the friends of the slave in this region, prompt and vigorous efforts in its preparation. We know some of them, both in town and country, have long been busily at work in its behalf. So well is it understood and felt, that the Fair belongs to Pennsylvania Abolitionists generally, that our Annual summons to the work seems scarcely needed, and almost a form. But we issue it as a word of remembrance to the interested, and to arouse the lethargic—and to announce—at this important crisis—to an increasingly sympathizing community, an opportunity to labour for the cause. We invite the co-operation of every heart that loves the slave, and would prove its love by its deeds.

To our numerous fellow-labourers in city and country it cannot be unnecessary to speak on the subject of the best manner of preparing for the Fair. In such preparation they are well skilled. To those to whom the work may be new we say, all pretty or marketable commodities will be valuable.

To *all* we say, make the slave's cause your own, if possible, and give liberally as God hath given you.

SARAH PUGH,	ESTHER RECKLESS,
A. MATILDA CASSEY,	MARIA M. DAVIS,
ANNA M. HOPPER,	ELIZABETH GAY,
JANETTE JACKSON,	HANNAH W. HAYDOCK.
MARGARET A. GRISCOM,	ELIZABETH DAVIS,
MARY GREW,	EMMA PARKER,
MARGARET JONES,	GERTRUDE K. BURLEIGH,
HANNAH L. STICKNEY,	EMILY A. WINSLOW.
MARY T. STICKNEY,	CLEMENTINE G. RUBY,
SARAH A. T. MC KIM,	MARTHA CARMEN,
THERESA H. HALLOWELL,	SARAH T. CHILD,
HULDA JUSTICE,	ANNA M. CHILD,
ELIZABETH CARMAN,	MARY SHAW,
HARRIET D. PURVIS,	MARGARET FORTEN,
PRISCILLA LUKENS,	ESTHER HOGELAND,
SARAH M. DOUGLASS,	ESTHER BURR,

ELIZABETH CLENDENEN.

Committee of Arrangements.

No. XXXVI.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery, have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to the right against law and custom:—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery, by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity. Union being strength that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co-operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partizan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. In the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective energy and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY BAZAAR, to commence in FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved, and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

M. W. Chapman,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Mary G. Chapman,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Caroline Weston,*
Mary May,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza Lee Follen,	*Henrietta Sargent,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Louisa Loring,	*Eliza F. Meriam,*
Mary Young,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Mary Wiley,	*Evelina S. A. Smith,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Maria Lowell,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Francis Mary Robbins,	*Harriet T. White,*
Lydia Parker,	*Abby Francis,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Abby Southwick,*
Catharine Sargent,	*Harriet M. Jackson.*

All persons desiring the privilege of co-operating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management.—*Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing to it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon as convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M. W. Chapman, may be addressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during he remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated, for the sake of the cause, to continue the same good office, by *seasonably* gathering the requisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, December 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

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Cotton Twilled Pantaloon Stuffs. Also Linen Drilling, &c.
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do. 2d sort	.35	a .—
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American	—	a .50
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do. do. 7-8	—	a —
do. bleached	4½	a 5
do. S. I. do.	7	a 9
Sheetings, brown 4-4	6	a 9½
do. do. 5-4	10	a 12
do. bleached 4-4	7½	a 10
do. do. 5-4	12	a 15
Calicoes, blue	8	a 10
do. fancy	6	a 12
Plaids	9	a 11
Kentucky jeans,	15	a 30
Satinetts	35	a 60
Checks 4-4	7	a 10
Cotton Osna. S. No. 1	7½	a 8½
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Cotton yarn, 5 a 12	—	a 14
do. 14 a 19	17	a 19
do. 20 a 23	—	a 19
FLOUR & MEAL. Duty, 20 per cent ad val.		
Genesee per bbl.	5.25	a 5.50
Troy	.—	a .37½
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Ohio, new	.—	a —.—
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Ohio, via, Canal	—.—	a —.—
Pennsylvania	—.—	a .—
Brandywine	—.—	a —
Georgetown	5.67½	a .—
Baltimore c. mills	—	a .—
Richmond c. mills	7.25	a 7.50
do. country	—	a —
Alexandria	.—	a .—
Fredericksburg	5.75	a —
Petersburg	.—	a .—
Rye flour	3.50	a 3.6½
Cornmeal, Jersey	.—	a 2.50
do. hhd.	—.—	a —.—
FISH Duty, 20 per cent ad val.		
Dry cod, cwt.	2.37½	a 2.60
Dry scale	2.00	a 2.25
Pickled cod, bbl.	3.—	a 3.25
do. salmon, tce	15.25	a —.75
Smoked do. lb	—	a —
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	7.75	a 8.25
do. No. 1 small	.—	a .—
do. No. 2	5.50	a 6.25
do. do. North	.—	a —.—
do. No. 3 South	3.62	a 3.87
do. do. North	3.75	a 3.87½
Shad, N 1 Ct.hf.bbl.	.—	a 7.00
do. No. 2	—.—	a 6.00
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Mass. do.	—.—	a —.—
Southern	5.00	a 5.25
Herring, pickled	4.00	a
do. scale, per box,	—	a 50
do. No. 1	—	a 30
do. No. 2	—	a 20
GRAIN. Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.		
Wheat, white bush	1.05	a 1.15
do Western	.—	a —.—
do. Southern	1 05	a 1.15
Rye northern	.69	a .70
Corn north'n & Jer	64	a 65
do south'n(weight)	53	a .54
do N O & West'n	—	a ——
Barley, Western,	60	a .65
Oats, northern	43	a .49
do. southern	—	a .—
do. New-Jersey	39	a 40
Peas white	1.—	a 1.50
Black eyed, 2b ush.	.00	a —.

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Russia per lb.		a —
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Live, American	32	a 35
HAY—Per 100 lbs.		
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First sort 1847, lb.	4½	a 5
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Oak Ohio,	19	a 21
Hemlock, light	12½	a 13½
do. middle	12½	a 13½
do. heavy,	12½	a 13
do. damaged	10	a 11
do. poor do.	6	a 7
LIME		
Thomaston per bbl	66.	a .70
LUMBER Duty: Timber and firewood, 20 boards, timber, &c. shaped for use, 30; do rough, 20 per ct ad val. Yard selling prices		
Timber w. pine pr.c.ft.	18	a 22
do. east'n scant or beams prM. ft.	15.—	a 16.25
do oak, cu. ft.	.23	a 25
do. Gr. Isl.W.O.	—25	a 28
do. O.scnt.pr.M.ft.	25	a .30
do. Ga.yel.pine (by cargo) per cub. ft.	—22	a 25
Plank Ga. yel. pine pr M foot	—.25	a 30
Boards N.R.M.ft.cl.	—.30	a 35.—
do. 2d ql.	22.50	a 25.
do. Box	3.59	a .15
Albany, piece	10	a .18
Plank Alb. pine	23	a .26
Laths E. by car.	1.25	a .—
Shingles bh. 18 in.	1.62½	a 2.—
do. Ced.3ft.1stql.	25.—	a —.30
do. do. 2d ql.	24.—	a 28.—
do. 2ft.1st ql.	17.—	a 22.—
do. do.2dql.	16.—	a 79.—
do. Cyprus 2d ql.	15.—	a 16.—
Heading W.O.pr.M.	40.—	a —.45
Staves W. O. pipe	60.—	a —.—
do. do. hhd.	47.—	a —.48
do. do. bbl.	30.—	a —.33
do. R. O. hhd.	25.—	a 28.—
PROVISIONS. Duty: Cheese 30; all other 20 per cent. ad val.		
Beef, mess per bbl.	11.62½	a 12.75
do. prime	6.50	a 7.25
Pork, mess Ohio	11.	a 11 12½
do. prime new	8.75	a 8.87½
Lard	7½	a —.
Hams, smoked	5	a —. 9
Shoulders, smoked	4½	a —. 5
Beef do.	—	a —.—
Butter, Orange co.	16	a .18
do. West'n dairy	14½	a —.16½
do. common	—	a —
Cheese	4½	a —. 6½
SEEDS. Duty: flaxseed clover, and timothy, 20 per cent. ad val.		
Clover, per lb.	—.5	a —.6½
Timothy, 7 bush.	14.—	a 17.—
Flax, rough	1.—	a .—
do. clean	—.—	a —.—
TALLOW. Duty: tallow grease, & soap stuff 10 per cent. ad val.		
Rendered	7½	a 8
WOOL. Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.		
Am. Sax'ny. fleece lb.	37	a 40
Am. full blood Merino	33	a 35
Am. ½ & ¾ Merino	26	a 30
Am. native & ¼ do.	22	a 25
Superfine, pulled, ctry.	24	a 26
do. do city	26	a 27
No. 1, pulled, country,	23	a 24
do. city	22	a 23
South Am. washed	5	a 7
do. do. & picked	18	a 20
do. unwashed	5	a 7½
Africa	6	a 11
Smyrna	10	a 11
Mexican	10	a 12

Miscellany.

From Israel Olden, in the Christian Watchman.

STONEITES AND GRAINITES; OR WHICH WAY SHALL WE GO TO MILL?

The above denominations, friend reader, cannot be found in any religious chart that I know of, and yet, unless I am much mistaken, they have a "local habitation," if not a name, in the religious world. You shall judge when you have heard my story, which you will allow an old man, pronounced "somewhat garrulous," to tell. If anything in it shall not suit thee, I shall take refuge in thy charity, which, I doubt not, is large enough (or ought to be) to cover a multitude of sins. If thou hast none, alas for me, still more alas for thee!

There once existed a thriving, industrious community, (the place where is of no consequence to thee,) noted among other peculiarities for their rigid adherence to the customs of their fathers. Now this may be sometimes a great virtue, and sometimes a sort of vice. It may keep one from some bad things and it may hinder one from getting at some good things. How it was in this present case you shall decide. The very spirit of olden times seem to pervade the air the streets and people of our community. Everything wore a most antique appearance. The very horses trotted along in what seemed to be an old prescribed gait, and even the cats and dogs seemed to mew and bark after some precise form sanctioned by long usage. Among other singular customs, there was one which must strike thee as not a little curious. Our good people had always been accustomed to go to mill in the following manner. The quantity of grain to be converted into flour was first put into one end of a bag. A large stone just sufficient to balance it was carefully fastened into the other. A string in the middle very effectually cut off all intercourse between the two apartments. The whole was then thrown on the back of a horse and conveyed to the place of destination. In this way from generation to generation had these worthy people gone to mill, and no one had ever thought of raising a question as to its being the very best way in the world. Such a question, indeed, would have been like a sort of earthquake. It would have been truly *shocking* to all.

But, alas! the spirit of old times must sooner or later give place to the spirit of new. Questions will come up in regard to old forms and antiquated ways, and innovations will eventually creep into the most staid community; and if one way of going to mill is better than another, people will be likely after a while (a long while it may be,) to find it out. Now I am not one of those who regret this. The old and the *true* can never be injured by the new. A question may cause an old thing to be digged around somewhat closely, and sifted quite particularly; but if true, it will stand, and if not, it ought to fall. The spirit of innovation somehow or other belongs to man's nature, and was put into it, as I think, not for any bad purpose. Indeed, we owe to it pretty much all the good we enjoy. I would just whisper in thine ear that some of the greatest and best that earth has ever seen were great innovaters, and that you and I owe them no small debt; but I am preaching before my text is half read.

Now it happened that, as years rolled on, and population increased, and new countries became settled, our sedate and excellent friends found themselves in the vicinity of a flourishing hamlet, which had grown up in the course of time, the manners and customs of whose inhabitants differed somewhat from their own—among other things, their way of going to mill. The new settlers, instead of using a stone to balance the grain, divided the latter into two equal parts, and made them balance each other.

I should tell nothing new or strange should I say, that, between the old and the new people matters were not always remarkably smooth. The spirit of the old was somewhat tenacious, the spirit of the new somewhat rash, perhaps, and forward. The old looked with a sort of dread and disgust upon innovations regarded as disrespectful to their fathers and to themselves. The new looked with contempt upon what appeared very much like absurdities, and despised those who kept to a thing, merely because it was old, and would admit no change even for the better, merely because it would seem like making a concession to their rivals. Thus stood matters between them. The old held on without reason; the new pressed on, not always, it may be, with due consideration. They might have greatly benefited each other; but the old would not even examine the improvements of the new, and the new might have thought too little of the experience of the old. On the whole, reason and good sense seemed to be rather on the side of the new.

It is a hard matter, friend, reader, when we behold an individual getting an advantage over us by doing a thing better than we do it, to keep from adopting the improvement. There must be a great deal of pride and self-conceit to deter us. Our old community was one day startled by the report, that one of its members had actually gone to mill with grain at both ends of his bag! A thunder-clap from a clear sky would not have produced a deeper sensation. Was it true? Could it be so? Had the dreaded evil come at last? Had heresy and degeneracy at length reached them? Alas! for the ancient customs of their fathers! Alas! for the good old way of going to mill! Alas! for the old family stone, which had come down as an heir-loom from generation to generation, now to be discarded—turned out of doors—trampled upon like any common stone in the streets. The place was moved as it had never been before. A crisis was evidently reached, and many were the meetings of the elders and *leading* men, in order to devise some way of preventing the spread of the moral infection which had made its appearance in their hitherto staid community.

We will enter one of these secret conclaves and listen to the words of wisdom or of folly, as the case may be, which were dropped therein. That the new way of going to mill possessed many advantages over the old, they did not pretend to deny. The old way, they allowed was "double trouble." There could not be carried at any one time more than one half the quantity of grain, of which the new admitted—besides, half the burden was always to be brought home again, in the shape of the old family stone, which just balanced some three bushels of grain. In addition to all this, the absurd appearance of the thing—it really looked irrational! These admissions, however, were not told *out of doors*. It was said on the other hand, that notwithstanding all its disadvantages, it would never do to abandon the old way. And why not? Just listen. Their reasons may be summed up, as follows: 1. It would be a reflection upon the wisdom of our fathers, who have instituted it. 2. It would be a reflection upon our own wisdom, who have continued it. 3. It would be a conncession to our rivals, who have condemned it. 4. It would be difficult to keep some other things from going with it. It was therefore,

Resolved, 1, That we continue to go to mill, as went our fathers.

2. That any other way be deemed heretical and subversive of the best interests of this community.

3. That the individual who has broken through long established custom, be solemnly admonished of his error, and exhorted to return to the forsaken path.

These resolutions seemed to inspire a salutary awe for a season. Our dissenting friend, however, would persist in going to mill in the new and better way. He became forthwith a marked man, and many were the warnings which all good people and true received of the awful course which the daring innovator was pursuing. Patronage was withdrawn, opprobrious epithets were bestowed in abundance, and it was even suggested, that it might be well to deprive him of all possible ways and means of giving publicity to his sentiments—the usual resort of those who fear a fair and open discussion.

But human nature is a strange thing as thou knowest. To attempt to drive it, is often very much like attempting to drive a pig,—it will go just the *contrary* way. Notwithstanding all the edicts and fulminations of those in authority, there were found some who could not but think that it was rather a hard thing, to be obliged to go to mill with a great stone in the bag, just because their fathers did so. They had a great deal of regard for their fathers, but really, they did not see why they should be compelled to wear their old coats, when new and better ones were easier to come by. As to making concessions, they did not see any great harm in that as long as they conceded to what was truly good. Neither did they think it a sin to acknowledge the existence of some good things in their neighbours, as long as those things were really there. They concluded therefore to adopt the new way of going to mill, and as many other real improvements as might be found among their enterprising friends. Names are always very easily given and taken. The new party were called Grainites. The old, Stoneites. And to the mill they continued to go, in the old way, preferring it with all its inconveniences, for the wise and sufficient reasons above stated. My story is done. May I be indulged in a few reflections.

Art thou a real lover! I do not mean any particular *ism*, but of truth, considered apart from all *isms* whatsoever. Is there within you a spirit prompting you to look around without prejudice, to decide without partiality, to see and acknowledge what is good in those who may in some things differ from you, and to adopt that good without fear! If this spirit be in you, you are free; if it be not, you are in bondage. There is a great deal in those words of Christ—"If the truth make you free, ye shall be made free indeed." It is to be feared that there is but little of this freedom where we should most expect to find it. Alas! how much of bondage, even where God's truth stands proclaiming liberty to the captive. To feel free, to *be* free, where parties stand ranged and raging around you, to love only the true and the good,—to love them wherever seen, in a friend or in a foe, to inquire of a thing this alone, is it truth? and to take it if it is, wherever it comes from; or is it error? and to reject if it is, by whomsoever held; to give utterance to your deep convictions even to the condemnation of your best friends, to call no man master, to think and judge for yourself, I say, to yield yourself up thus to the spirit of truth, is to be as free as God can make you. It is your birthright, and the birthright, of every man. Yet, alas, how many Esaus sell it for a mess of pottage. Reader, look around on Protestant Christendom. What strikes your eye? What curse seems to be resting as a blight on God's fair heritage? In every city and hamlet, sect stands arrayed against sect. Now tell me in all honesty and candour, as far as your observation has extended, tell me the secret thought of your heart in relation to this thing. What do you *think*? Is it your conviction that a supreme regard for *truth*, a spirit of honest, candid inquiry is the ruling spirit of the various religious denominations, or the spirit of sect or party? Answer the question for yourself. Does there seem to exist a readiness to make concessions where they can be made, to blend where it can be done, or rather a reluctance to yield a point which they make for the advantage of others? Look at the religious periodicals of the day. Mark well their tone. Does it seem as if truth were the great object sought after, or is it to sustain the interest of a party? Answer the question for yourself.

A man needs very much of a martyr spirit to think for himself, to follow what appears to be truth alone, in those days, as well as they who did so, in days gone by. Few, inquire, does he utter *truth*? Most say, this is or is not what *we* believe. Few are like the noble Bereans. Too many are like Jews of Thessalonica. If one has the independence to refuse any one of the shibboleths of party, he is forthwith regarded with suspicion, or denounced as a heretic, and the warning voice lifted up against his utterances. He needs a firm heart in order to endure it, but the lover of truth will endure it. There are not a few *Stoneites* in the religious world, reader. They prefer an old way, simply because it is old, or for some other eqnally good reason. They cling to antiquated forms and expressions from a sort of feeling that the substance can never exist apart from these forms and expressions. They are very slow to make concessions if others will reap any advantage thereby. They will withhold the utterance of a truth if it shall seem to favour some opposing sect. They will not acknowledge what is really good in those who differ from them, lest it should seem like a forgetfulness of their own peculiar tenets. They make other people's praise or blame the standard of orthodoxy and heresy. If *some* approve what you say, it cannot be truth, if they disapprove, it must be good. If you dare to question the superlative excellence of a single item of your creed and ask for a better form of expression, straight you come under the imputation of having forgotten to what denomination you belong. You are getting "liberal"—"loose." They talk solemnly of the "faith once delivered to the saints," meaning, of course, a faith worded exactly like their own, and saints of precisely their own complexion. They would rather you should go to mill with a stone in the bag, than to seem to make a concession by adopting a better mode. They regard the wisdom of their predecessors as something infallible, and their own by consequence as partaking of this attribute, and feel the least dissent to be an impeachment. They will allow you to adopt no practice which may seem like a departure from established religious usage, even though it presents acknowledged advantages. If you acknowledge some good things in the liturgy, and confess an enjoyment of it sometimes, straight you are an Episcopalian and a full believer in the Apostolic succession. They would like a liturgy well enough—no objection to the *thing*—but it would be a concession to "the church," and they will not have it. They do not altogether like certain things in "our creed," but it will not do to *say* so—the Unitarians would take advantage of it. They think such a thing may be *true*, but if they confess it, they will be charged with inconsistency. They are sure this book must be unsound, for "Liberal Christians" have declared there is truth in it. This man cannot be Orthodox for certain persons approve his preaching. Thus it is friend, reader. The spirit of party is the curse of the church. It does not exist by any means in any one denomination, it has its abode in all.

Is it any wonder that, with such a spirit prevailing, there should be so little of Christian union, so little of the appearance of brotherly love and kindness? Is it any wonder that those regarded as errorists should not be converted from the error of their ways? It must be marvellous preaching, and marvellous grace indeed, which will incline a man to think favourably of sentiments which he plainly perceives to be held in connection with a disingenuous spirit. If you will not concede to others what your own heart acknowledges good, how can you expect them to do differently in relation to yourself? Why should we be afraid of anything that's true? It cannot hurt us; God made it. Why should we be afraid to acknowledge and take it, because it may happen to be associated with error? Take the truth and leave the error. There are those, I have not the least doubt, (I speak advisedly,) who in their hearts would like an alteration in some religious usages and forms of expressions which they have adopted, but they are afraid of being misinterpreted, of the hue and cry which would be at once raised, of the *capital* which some might be disposed to make out of any change effected. One can scarcely blame them. They well know that the penalty of an honest expression of their feelings would be a sort of crucifixion, and the cross is dreadful thus to bear.

People cannot, indeed, be burnt, just now, for supposed heresy, but there are penalties other than the stake and the rack, some scarcely less fearful, penalties which are generally inflicted to the full upon all offenders. Some most excellent people would, no doubt, vote with both hands for improvements in many matters; but they in whom the spirits of sectarianism rules strong, and who rule others, say, No. They must therefore keep the stone in the bag, and continue to go to mill in the old way. They often sigh in secret, but a strong hand is upon them, and they must keep their feeling to themselves.

There are those, now, of different religious communions, who stand gazing at each other with yearning hearts; but the lines are drawn, over which they cannot pass. They throw a glance of kindness at each other, but a closer embrace is not permitted. A keen eye is upon them—the eye of sectarian jealousy, and, mild and gentle in their spirits, nor caring to enter into contention, they retire before its glance.

Such appears to me, reader, to be the state of things. I should be glad to know that I am mistaken in the representation which I have given; but an acquaintance for some years with a variety of communions, renders me but too certain that the picture which I have drawn is no exaggeration.

THE INDIANS IN THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

"We are now entering upon the greatest field for the speculations and amusement (as well as astonishment) of the Indians, that they were to meet in the great metropolis. My note-book was in my hand, and my pencil constantly employed; and the notes that I then and in subsequent visits made, can be allowed very little space in this work. All were ready, and we followed Mr. Cross; the Indians, fourteen in number, with their red faces and red crests, marching in single file. The squalling of parrots and barking of dogs, seemed to have announced to the whole neighbourhood that some extraordinary visitation was at hand; and when we were in front of the lion's cage, their tremendous bolts against its sides, and unusual roar, announced to the stupidest animal and reptile that an enemy was in the field. The terrible voice of the king of beasts was heard in every part, and echoed back in affrighted notes of a hundred kinds. Men, as well as beasts were alarmed, for the men employed within the grounds were retreating, and at every turn they made amidst its bewildering mezes, they imagined a roaring lion was to spring upon their backs. The horrid roaring of the lions was answered by lions from another part of the garden. Hyenas and panthers hissed, wolves were howling, the Indians (catching the loved inspiration of nature's wildness) sounded their native war-hoop, the buffaloes bellowed, the wild geese stretched their necks and screamed; the deer, the elk, and the antelopes were trembling, the otters an beavers dived to the bottom of their pools, the monkeys were chattering from the tops of their wire cages, the bears were all at the summit of their poles, and the ducks and the geese, whose wings were not cropped, were hoisting themselves out of their element into quieter regions.

"The whole establishment was thus in an instant 'brushed up,' and in their excitement, prepared to be seen to the greaest possible advantage; all upon their feet, and walking their cages to and fro, seemingly as impatient to see what they seemed to know was coming, as the visiting party was impatient to see them.

"I explained to the Indians that the lion was the king of beasts—and they threw tobacco before him as a sacrifice. The hyenas attracted their attention very much, and the leopards and tigers, of the nature of all which I promised to give them some further account when we got home. They met the panther, which they instantly recognized, and the recognition would seem to have been mutual, from its evident alarm, evinced by its hissing and showing its teeth. *Jim* called for the Doctor 'to see his brother,' the wolf. The Doctor's *totem* or *arms* was the wolf—it was therefore *medicine* to him. The Doctor advanced with a smile, and offering it his hand, with a smirk of recognition, he began, in a low and soft tone, to howl like a wolf. All were quiet a moment, when the poor animal was led away by the Doctor's '*distant howlings*,' until it raised up its nose, with the most pitiable looks of imploration for its liberty, and joined him in the chorus. He turned to us with an exulting smile, but to his 'poor imprisoned brother,' as he called it, with a tear in his eye, and a plug of tobacco in his hand which he left by the side of his cage as a *peace-offering*.

"The ostrich (of which there was a noble specimen there) and the kangaroo, excited the admiration and lively remarks of the Indians; but when they met the poor, distressed, and ragged prisoner, the buffalo from their own wild and free prairies, their spirits were overshadowed with an instant gloom; forebodings, perhaps, of their own approaching destiny. They sighed, and even wept, for this worn veteran, and walked on. With the bears they would have shaken hands, if they could have done it, 'and embraced them too,' said the Little-wolf, 'for he had hugged many a one. They threw tobacco to the rattlesnake, which is *medicine* with them, and not to be killed. The joker, *Jim*, made us white men take off our hats as we passed the beaver, for it was his relation; and as he had learned a little English, when he heard the ducks cry 'quack,' he pointed to them and told the Doctor to go there—he was called for.

"Thus rapid were the transitions from surprise to pity, and to mirth, as we passed along, and yet to wonder and astonishment, which had been reserved for the remotest and the last. Before the massive *elephant* little or nothing was said; all hands were over their mouths; their tobacco was forgotten, they walked quietly away, and all of us being seated under an arbor, to which we were conducted, our kind guide said to Jeffrey, 'Tell the Indians that the immense arch they see now over their heads is made of the jaw-bones of a whale, and they may may now imagine themselves and the whole party sitting in its mouth.' 'Well, now,' said Jeffrey, 'you don't say so?' 'Yes, it's even so,' 'Well, I declare! why, the elephant would be a mere baby to it.' Jeffrey explained it to the Indians, and, having risen from their seats, and being satisfied, by feeling it, that it was actually bone, they wished to go home, and 'see the rest at a future time.' We were then near the gate, where we soon took our carriage, and returned to their quarters in St. James's street."—*Catlin's Notes.*

WOMAN IN THE CELESTIAL EMPIRE.

Woman is in a more degraded position in China than in any other part of the globe, and her humiliation is rendered more conspicuous by the extent to which civilization and education have been carried in the empire. In no rank is she regarded as the companion of man, but is treated solely as the slave of his caprice and passions. Even amongst the females of the highesr ranks, few are found who can read or write; there education is confined to the art of embroidery, playing on a horrid three-stringed guitar, and singing; but the obligation of obedience to man is early inculcated, and the greater portion of their time is spent in smoking and playing at cards. The women of the poorer classes have no education, and can be considered but little better than beasts of burden. A man of that rank will walk deliberately by his wife's side, while she totters under a heavy load, and frequently she may be seen yoked to a plough, while her husband guides it! Those of the lower classes who are good-looking, according to Chinese ideas of beauty, are purchased by the rich at about twelve or fourteen years, for concubines, and are then instructed according to their masters's ideas. The Chinese cannot at all comprehend the European mode of treating ladies with respect and deference, and being naturally superstitious, attribute to devilish arts, practiced by the fair sex, the just appreciation we entertain of their value; in short, they consider European ladies have an influence somewhat similar to that ascribed to an evil eye by Italian superstition. Chinese domestics have a very great objection to reside in a European family over which a lady presides; and an old tradition of theirs curiously coincides with their superstition about our females—That China should never be conquered until a woman reigned in the *far-West*. Some say that this prophecy was never heard of until they were conquered by the army of Queen Victoria. Be this as it may, they all contend that it is to be found in some of their oldest works.

Many traditions are extant in China relative to women; and amongst other legends, the horrible practice of deforming the female foot is thus said to have commenced:—the wife of one of their ancient Emperors was found by her lord and master near the apartment of one of the great officers of the court, who had the reputation of being very handsome. Receiving from the emperor a torrent of abuse for her misconduct, she pleaded, in her defence, that it was not *her* fault but that of *her feet*, which were so very large, they took her to the spot sorely against her will. The emperor immediately ordered the forepart of her feet to be amputated. Such is the origin of the crippled foot, which from this time became the fashion. The appearance of these distorted extremities, which are mere tapering stumps, is most disgusting to an European eye. Immediately after the birth of a female, her toes are doubled down, the big toe is made to overlap, and bandages are then applied with an incredible amount of pressure; as age advances, the whole becomes one mass of filth and abhorrent humours. A surgeon, who had unbound and examined the foot of a Chinese lady, assured me that the effluvium arising from it was more offensive, and the sight more disgusting, than anything he had ever witnessed in a dissecting-room. The bandages employed are made of silk, which are rarely removed, and these are covered with fresh ones from time to time, and over all the dwarf-shoe is secured, the pointed toe of which is stuffed with cotton. Owing to their maimed feet, the women cannot walk any distance, even with the assistance of sticks or crutches, which they always use in the house. The hobbling motion of one who attempts to do so is considered most graceful by the Chinese; and ladies who essay the exploit, are poetically called "Tottering willows." Women of the higher orders, when they go abroad, are carried in sedan-chairs or boats, but those who cannot afford to command such equipages are carried on the backs of men, or of women blessed with undeformed feet. In the families of the wealthy inhabitants, all the daughters are thus maimed for life; but among the poorer classes, if there are two or more daughters, one is always deprived of pedestrian power, and she is hence invariably considered superior to her sisters, and may become a *wife*. The others can never become more than handmaids, except they intermarry with the very lowest. This horrid and barbarous taste is most unaccountable in a nation, where the undistorted natural foot of woman is the very model of beauty; the high instep is equal to the Andalusian, and the arch of the sole rivals that of the Arab; the ancle, which in the distorted foot becomes revoltingly thick, is symmetry itself. Such a foot, of course, can only be seen among the 'lower classes. The whole female character seems to be completely changed by the barbarous practice in question; for the countenance of a Chinese beauty is always void of animation, and somewhat expressive of the suffering which her ligatured feet may produce, while the countenances of uncrippled females are full of vivacity.—*Dublin Magazine.*

JOHN BULL'S "ATELIERS NATINOAUX."

Business-minded, calculating, practical John Bull, with so many wise wrinkles in his ample brow, enjoyed many puffs of contempt at those beautiful castles in the air—castles, rose, gold, and sapphire-tinted like the evanescent fabrics of one of these fine July skies—the airy castles called *Ateliers Nationaux*; bright blissful buildings of the last Utopia—Louis Blanc the hopeful architect. For weeks did John Bull grunt, and growl, and pooh-pooh at the glittering mist; and sometimes, in the depth of his prophetic spirit, did he sternly, sadly foretell the total dispersion of the cloudly loveliness—rent, swallowed up by the hurricane and thunder. And *when* the storm began; and when Louis Blanc heard and saw the destruction of his misty castles in the thunder and smother of the barricades; when, aghast and spectral, the sometime magician Blanc made his fitful appearance on the scene of ruin, John Bull was cool, unmoved, stoical. He disdained to be surprised. And why? Because John is a political economist; he knew full well that the *Ateliers Nationaux*—wanting a truly economic foundation—would sooner or later come down like houses of cards; though, haply, he did not expect with such a crash, and at such a cost of human life and human suffering.

Nevertheless, having for a brief time pondered on the homicide at the barricades, John Bull found comfort (a selfish satisfaction, but withal a cosey one) in the deep conviction that there were no *Ateliers Nationaux* in very merry England. He allowed no idlers; he did not suffer money to be taken from the industrious to cram it in the pockets of the donothings. No, no! *Ateliers Nationaux*—and such gimcrack Castles of Indolence—were to be expected in monkey France; but in solid, practical, equitable Britain—he would as soon tolerate the Inquisition.

It was with this sort of self-complacency in the superior wisdom of his own beloved Island, that John laid down the French paper—(he had translated the passage to his wife)—that announced the suppression of the *Ateliers Nationaux*.

"Of course, my dear; I always said so: no substance in the notion—all moonshine, and couldn't last Pay a mob of people for doing nothing—pay 'em out of the taxes, too; why it isn't in reason—it isn't my dear"—and John always looked the bigger when he came to the phrase—"it isn't political economy."

Mrs. Bull was darning her husband's worsted stockings. They had already been so much mended, that, as she avowed, she was ashamed to see any decent man in 'em. Whereupon, John with a philosophic indifference, declared that the stockings were quite good enough for the Income-tax. With that sevenpence in the pound to pay, how were people to afford new stockings? People must save somewhere. And after all, what was the Income-tax, when in England there were no such burdens—no such folly—no such stupid political economy as *Ateliers Nationaux*.

Certainly not, John," said Mrs. Bull, in her quiet, matronly way, taking off her glasses, and calmly rubbing them on her white linen apron. "You haven't the same word, certainly; but surely, there is in England—and that, John, that is what is eating us up, and making people wear over-darned stockings when they should buy new ones—there is exactly the same sort of thing."

"Mrs. Bull," said John, with a mild, benignant look, as though pitying the ignorance of the partner of his bosom—"Mrs. Bull, you're a silly woman."

"Of course,—that's how you men put us all off. But the fact is, John, you look so much to words—now, I will say it—that you altogether forget the things. Only give a nuisance an English name, and you swallow it as though you loved it, and could live upon it."

"What does the foolish woman mean?" cried Bull, knitting his wise brow, and drawing his lips to a cherry-bob. 'I said, in England, Mrs. Bull, we have no *Ateliers Nationaux*."

"And I say you have," replied the dame, "only otherwise christianed. Will you hear me, John?"

"You're a silly thing, my dear." said Bull, contemptuously filling his pipe—"but go on."

"Well then," said Mrs. Bull, "suppose, John, every week I was to set down in the house expenses say ten pounds a week, for seed and sugar and toast for parrots; when, at the same time there wasn't a single bird in the house. What should you call that?"

"Robbery," said John, with no hesitation for the word.

"Well, then," said Mrs. Bull, "what do you say to that precious Duke of St. Albans?—oh, I've been reading all about the fine idlers of our *Telyer Nashuno*, reading it till when I think of 'em, and the hours have to darn to save a penny, my blood does boil again—that precious Duke that takes in the *Nashuno* £1200 for feeding hawks, when he hasn't a single feather on his hands? What's that?"

"My dear," said Bull, confused, "that is a—a—tradition; a—a—"

"Fiddledee! You said the right word before, and that's robbery," and nothing short of it. Again, then, what are we to say to the mint of money that's still paid to the royal bastards of——"

"Bend sinisters, Mrs. Bull, when you speak of high life," said Bull, and his eyes twinkled despite of him.

"And what are you to say," cried the persisting woman, "to that Earl of Ellenborough, that, as the monkey ate the cheese instead of weighing it, takes £900 and more every year out of the scales of Justice?"

"Forms, my love; that is—perhaps—necessary forms," stammered Bull, and he began to redden.

"And what do you say, then, to the German Princes that are paid for doing nothing in our *Nashuno?*"

Mr. Bull said nothing; but puffed his pipe very violently.

"And what do you say to the Six Clerks' pensions, and the Duke of Marlborough's pension; and Lord Campbell's pension, for wearing the Seals of Ireland at his watch-chain for a week; and moreover, what do you say to the Earl of Besborough, that takes of the dear Queen (poor lady, how she is robbed among 'em!) £1700 a year for feeding the buckhounds, as if the Crown was to be supported by dogs; and—but here—Mr. Bull, look at the list,"—(and here the dame whipped the *Black Book of England* from under her chair-cushion, and forced it in the hand of her husband)—"look at all the names; if some of 'em don't put me in mind of police cases for false pretence and embezzlement, I'm no woman. Look at them, and then say, if you can, that you have, in England here—where we're obliged to darn stockings, when we should buy new ones—say then that you have no *Telyurs Nashuno*."

Mr. Bull received the book as though it were a lump of ice: opened it—ran his eye up and down many a passage—glowing and blinking the while. At length, in a grand burst of indignation at his long ignorance, he dashed the book upon the floor, and rose bolt upright from his seat.

"Mrs. Bull," he said, "I'm sorry to own it; but you're quite right. We, too, in England, have our *Ateliers Nationaux* for pensioned idlers. But we must sweep them away; we must, and no mistake about it. We, too, must throw up our barricades—but tremble not, my love—they shall be barricades in the House of Commons."—*Punch.*

VAN CORLEAR'S HORN.

The newspapers have repeatedly of late called attention to the weird sounds of a marvellous horn, which is often heard by night in different directions, anywhere within a dozen miles of Harlem River. The writer of this paragraph heard it, at Piermont, in Rockland County, within the last ten days, and so strangely did it sound, as it swept over the broad expanse of Tappan Zee, that one of the auditors seemed to be involuntarily reminded of the Enchanted Horn of Roland, the Paladin, by some called Orlando, referred to by New York's ancient historian—and years after the publication of Knickerbocker, further immortalized in Scott's animated apostrophe—

"Oh for a blast of that wild horn,
On Fontarabia's echoes born,
A hero's dying call."

Another listener more solemnly quoted the fine song—

"There calleth me ever a marvellous horn—
Come away—come away;"

while a third insisted that as the same sound was often heard at midnight in the streets of New York, it must be nothing more than what the newspapers said it was, viz., the steam whistle of the Long Island Railroad, producing a peculiar effect, from the supposed trumpet-shape of the Brooklyn Tunnel.

Some were satisfied with this practical solution of the pending grand question in acoustics, and some, borrowing a hint from the last speaker, insisted that it was the whistle of an engine on the Harlem Road which we now heard. But this speaker was met at once by the objection, that there was no tunnel upon this road, to change the shrill and piercing tones of the whistle into the full, deep, and mellow wail of this complaining horn. A poetic young gentleman of fifteen lispingly intimated, that it might be only the murmurs of vexed spirits of the Hudson, at the violation of the river's banks by the new Railway, now in process of construction along the margin.

Meanwhile, within a few evenings past, we have heard the same identical sound, when walking in Union Place, twenty-five miles from Piermont, where we had heard it last previously. The few persons still loitering around the fountain, near midnight, to enjoy the cool summer air, seemed more or less startled and bewildered, but none could explain the phenomenon.

"They say it is a Railroad," said one man, "but how a Railroad makes such a noise as that—a noise that no human ear ever heard a dozen miles away from the North River, the newspapers may explain if they can,"

As the worthy citizen spoke, the deep and rich humming sound that, filling the air with its plaintive challenge, seemed but now again to rise from the Long Island shore, swept around us, as it were, and died off in a prolonged and moaning blast towards Harlem Bridge. We determined at once, that however contented the town might be with any of the various solutions afloat, concerning this mystery which had so bewildered it—the readers of the Literary World should at least have something more satisfactory to chew upon; and after painstaking and extraordinary efforts, just as we had abandoned in despair all exertions to solve the enigma, the real and simple explanation offered itself, in the most incidental way, as we were turning over some loose pages of the forthcoming new edition of Knickerbocker's New York, in Mr. Putnam's bookstore.—Let the scientific reader peruse the following, and give credit to this journal for satisfactorily explaining one of the most puzzling questions in acoustics, which has ever alarmed the populace, or vexed the savans of a great city:—

"Now there was nothing in all the world, the divine sex excepted, that Antony Van Corlear loved better than errands of this kind. So just stopping to take a lusty dinner, and bracing to his side his junk bottle, well charged with heart-inspiring Hollands, he issued jollily from the city gate, which looked out upon what is at present called Broadway; *sounding a farewell strain, that rung in sprightly echoes through the winding streets of New Amsterdam—Alas! never more are they to be gladdened by the melody of their favourite trumpeter!*

"It was a dark and stormy night when the good Antony arrived at the creek (sagely denominated Harlem *river*) which separates the island of Mannahata from the mainland. The wind was high, the elements were in an uproar, and no Charon could be found to ferry the adventurous sounder of brass across the water. For a short time he vapoured like an impatient ghost upon the brink, and then bethinking himself of the urgency of his errand, took a hearty embrace of his stone bottle, swore most valourously that he would swim across in spite of the devil (Spyt den Duyvel,) and daringly plunged into the stream. Luckless Antony! scarce had he buffeted half-way over, when he was observed to struggle violently, as if battling with the spirit of the waters—*instinctively he put his trumpet to his mouth, and giving a vehement blast—sank to the bottom!*

"*The clangor of his trumpet, like that of the ivory horn of the renowned Paladin Orlando, when expiring in the glorious field of Roncesvalles, rang far and wide through the country, alarming the neighbours around, who hurried in amazement to the spot.* Here an old Dutch burgher, famed for his veracity, and who had been a witness of the fact, related to them the melancholy affair; with the fearful addition (to which I am slow of giving belief) that he saw the duyvel, in the shape of a huge moss-bonker, seize the sturdy Antony by the leg, and drag him beneath the waves. Certain it is, the place, with the adjoining promontory, which projects into the Hudson, has been called *Spyt den Duyvel* ever since—the ghost of the unfortunate Antony still haunts the surrounding solitudes, *and his trumpet has often been heard by the neighbours, of a stormy night, mingling with the howling of the blast.*"

We have given the whole passage—but the parts we have italicised cannot but impress themselves hereafter upon the reader's memory—and whether loitering by the city fountains, traversing the pastures of Westchester, or watching the starlight from the blue hills of Rockland, he will recognize hereafter, when it meets his ears, the unearthly melody of Van Corlear's Horn.—*Literary World.*

The Artist.—"He dwells in no remote, subterranean, or celestial kingdom, proceeded Nunnenbeck; he dwells in the kernel of Nature. He is not solitary, but like an enchanter *alone*, awfully alone with the conjured-up spirits, and thus in the most dignified and fullest society of all the living and the dead. He continues to be a man, subject to all the laws of waking and sleeping, of hunger and thirst, and to all the condition of existence as strictly as a day-labourer. He has not nor can he subject himself to these spirits, for his own spirit is greater than all. He does not build his marvellous palace *on the wrecks* of this spell-like Nature, but he adopts all her laws, even the smallest and most delicate, in his ideas and images;—if he would make himself intelligible and valuable to men, then he must invent and create according to the most universal laws, which the smallest may understand and recognize—and his power is not derived from Nature, to be used *against* nature, but *with* her; and it is his life and his glory to follow her as far and as faithfully as it is possible for him to follow her. For the human race must not receive through his means a contorted, false, illusive nature; but every one, if possible, must see his own heart's kernel, that he may understand the miracles which were not so clear to his own contemplation. In this way alone, he raises also to the all-powerful mother, the insipid, unthinking, and passive, whose senses are all bound down by the exigencies of life. Through him they see that Nature is not so common as they are common; through him, in fine, they behold the whole beauty of the world, the whole depth which is in the mind of man, and which the initiated bring to light. But when the artist descends to search out the treasures of the deep, still he is like the miner who has his house and his wife above in the sunshine.

"Agnes looked at the excellent old man, and blushed. Therefore he was silent, and Celtes, the subtle judge of mankind, turned the conversation still further to Albert's advantage.

"Yes, as *he* loves the world, said he, so the world loves him in return; they cannot do without each other. And even the severest Capuchin is in the right when he censures the artist, who does not in the strictest manner fulfil the moral laws of Nature; for that was what I meant by my first words. The gift of fancy and the gift of reverence for the Godlike, are two very different qualities in man; and it is only by their union that a truly perfect man is known. What makes him an artist is, that, to outward appearance quite a simple man, he yet can mount into the region of fancy *as often as he will.* But it is only as a pure being, as an angel, that he can enter therein. Those who are but seldom inspired—the tumultuous, only once or twice excited; are ungenuine spirits; they sink as deep as they soared high. Nature gives to the genuine artist, with his birth, the true elevation, the greatness of mind necessary for lifelong unvarying endurance day and night: and from her comes every daily breath, every word—so that he feels, suffers, and rejoices in everything, under every lot, and in all circumstances. And thus he sits, apparently like one mute or blind, yea as a child among children, and dwells meanwhile—although with them, yet wherever he will, in heaven or in hell. It is only the constant, unremitting power which gives the stamp to the genuine calling; and from that power he has occupation, name, work, and happiness. And if he wilfully close the realm of fancy, then he becomes subject to the smallest law of the exterior world, and more so, indeed, of his love and of his conscience, which are the tenderest and purest laws in the world.

"Dost thou hear? said Nunnenbeck to his young relative, and seized him by the hand. Wherever thou beholdest a disolute artist, my son, even if it were only his shadow, then think: he is no artist, has never been one fundamentally, or will soon be one no longer; for the conflict between two passions drags even the strongest person to death. Human nature can endure a fault, and more so if it contains an elevating ever-vivifying power. No one dies by the effusions of such a power: it is the renovating joy of his life. But he who is a giant in fancy may be a negro child in morals; and the child drags the giant into the abyss. For these are certainly opposite—but may be found united in the same person. And every one, be he who he may, is and must remain a man, a moral being, and may least of all give himself up to the devil, that he may reveal God by his art."—*Schefer's Life of Albert Duer.*

A Cotemporary of Burns.—More than half a century having elapsed (says the *Kilmarnock Journal*) since the tomb closed over the mortal remains of Burns, the number of those who remember the event which awakened such strains of lamentation over Scotland must be few; and still fewer will be the number of those who recollect him a young farmer in Mossgiel. Though few and far between, still there are some who remember him ere his poems were issued from the Kilmarnock press. Of these there is one, and, perhaps, the only one residing in this neighbourhood, who knew the bard ere his aspiration,

"That he, for poir auld Scotland's sake,
Some useful plan or book might make,
Or write a sang at least,"

was crowned with success—knew him when he was so much entangled with the Mauchline belles, whom he warns against Rob Mossgiel—and drank veritable toddy with him in Nanse Tannock's at that very sacrament which he has painted in colours of unfading freshness. Janet Wyllie, relict of Mungo M'Gaan, who comes in for a passing notice in one of Burns' epistles is a native of Mauchline, now in her eighty-fourth year, being *eileens*, according to Scottish phraseology, with Jean Armour. In her youth, we doubt not that she was possessed of considerable personal attractions, as her still straight, tall, and well-formed figure, and regular features, indicate; and the fact of being married at the early age of seventeen, rather corroborates such a supposition. Her memory does not seem much impaired, but more early occurrences are remembered better than more recent transactions. Of course, after such pains have been taken in collecting everything regarding our national poet, little new important information is likely to be obtained; still her impressions and recollections, are not without interest and throw some little more light on the "Holy Fair." Jean Armour, in the estimation of Jean Wyllie, was not a *braw* woman—a mere *bunt* of a body—but Highland Mary was in beauty far surpassing Jean Armour. Of the four whom he celebrates in the stanza—

"Miss Miller is fine, Miss Murchland's divine,
Miss Smith she has wit, and Miss Beattie is braw;
There is beauty and fortune to be got with Miss Morton
But Armour's the jewel for me o'them a."——

Burns had his jewel, but few others were of Burns' opinion in this respect: and here also Janet Wyllie dissents. The Miss Smith was a sister of the James Smith to whom one of the very best of the epistles was written. Miss Miller married Dr. Mackenzie, of Mauchline. Miss Morton was a *braw* lass, and married a Mr. Paterson in the same town. "The Holy Fair," she is of opinion, was named "The Holy Fair," not from any wish to ridicule it, but was naturally suggested by the circumstance of its being held in the churchyard, the place where, on fairs, coopers, dealers in yarn, lint, wool, and other articles, generally exhibited their goods for sale.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The postage on English letters to America has been raised from five cents to twenty-five.

Dr. Knox (*Medical Times*) thinks that a million of American slaveholders cut off in cold blood to-morrow would call forth no tear of sympathy in Europe

At the Paris Academy of Sciences, M. Ferdinand, Engineer, lately proprosed to construct a floating tunnel from Calais to Dover, for the wires of the Electric Telegraph, and large enough to be traversed by small locomotives for the conveyance of passengers.

At present the military force in Ireland, including regular pensioners and constabulary, amounts to 45,000 men; while, at the time of Emmett's rebellion, which was suppressed in two hours, it amounted to 126,000 men: viz., 54,839 regulars, 27,104 militia, and 55,557 yeomanry.

The papers, acts and documents of every kind relating to the Orleans family and to the Chamber of Peers collected at the Tuileries and other Royal residences after the revolution of February, have been classified in 30,000 parcels, and placed in the archives of the Republic.

"It is an interesting fact," says the *Temperance Gazette*, "that the experience of the Temperance Provident Institution continues, after seven years to prove the superiority of teetotal lives. The annual mortality has averaged under 4 per 1,000, less than half the expected number."

There is not a more dangerous word than *expediency*; it unsettles everything, it settles nothing. It means, whatever any mind may please to affix to it, and being thus a word of all meanings, becomes a word of no meaning.—*Dr. Wardlaw.*

There was a little girl at Liskeard, says a correspondent of the (*Glasgow*) *British Friend*, whose relations were not Friends, yet she was so struck with the recurrence of "thee" and "thou" in reading the Bible, that she said with childlike simplicity, "mother, was God a Quaker?

Awful Desecration.—Sir F. Buxton presents his compliments to *Punch*, and begs to state that, after instituting the most searching inquiry as to the alledged working on the Sunday at his brewery, he has found that the fault does not lie with the men, or himself, but with the beer. Sir F. Buxton pledges himself that every precaution shall be taken, for the future, to prevent its working on the Sunday.

Indian Gambling.—"The game of 'hand' is played by two persons. One, who commences, places a plum or cherry stone in the hollow formed by joining the concaved palms of the hands together, then shaking the stone for a few moments, the hands are suddenly separated, and the other player must guess which hand now contains the stone.

"Large bets are often wagered on the result of this favourite game, which is also often played by the squaws, the men standing round encouraging them to bet, and laughing loudly at their grotesque excitement.

"A Burn-wood Sioux, Tah-tunga-nisha, and one of the bravest chiefs of his tribe, when a young man, was out on a solitary war expedition, against the Crows. One evening he drew near a certain 'medicine' spring, where, to his astonishment, he encountered a Crow warrior in the act of quenching his thirst. He was on the point of drawing his bow upon him, when he remembered the sacred nature of the spot, and making the sign of peace, he fearlessly drew near his foe, and proceeded likewise to slake his thirst. A pipe of kinnik-kinnik being produced, it was proposed to pass away the early part of the night in a game of 'hand.' They accordingly sat down beside the spring, and commenced the game.

"Fortune favoured the Crow. He won arrow after arrow from the Burnt-wood brave; then his bow, his club, his knife, his robe, all followed, and the Sioux sat naked on the plain. Still he proposed another stake against the other's winnings—his scalp. He played, and lost; and bending forward his head, the Crow warrior drew his knife, and quickly removed the bleeding prize. Without a murmur the luckless warrior rose to depart, but first exacted a promise from his antagonist, that he would meet him once more at the same spot, and engage in another trial of skill.

"On the day appointed, the Burnt-wood sought the spot, with a new equipment, and again the Crow made his appearance, and they sat down to play. This time fortune changed sides, and the Sioux won back his former losses, and in his turn the Crow was stripped to his skin.

"Scalp against scalp was now the stake, and this time the Crow submitted his head to the victorious Burnt-wood's knife; and both the warriors stood scalpless on the plain.

"And now the Crow had but one single stake of value to offer, and the offer of it he did not hesitate to make.—He staked his life against the other's winnings. They played; and fortune still being adverse, he lost. He offered his breast to his adversary. The Burnt-wood plunged his knife into his heart to the very hilt; and, laden with his spoils, returned to his village, and to this day wears suspended from his ears his own and his enemies scalp."—*Life in the Far West* (*Blackwood.*)

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